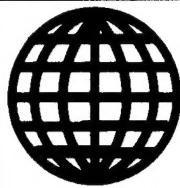


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Near East & South Asia

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Impact of Bush Statement Evaluated

90AS0260F Istanbul JAMANAK in Armenian
11 May 90 p 1

[Text] CUMHURIYET reports from Ankara:

The Armenian allegations constitute one of the problems which are constantly present on Turkey's foreign policy agenda. These allegations assumed a new character following U. S. President Bush's remarks on the occasion of 24 April.

The efforts of the Armenian-American lobby to establish ties with Yerevan has a special place in the framework of relations between Ankara, Washington and Moscow. While these efforts which "disturb" Ankara and Moscow continue, basic differences of approach are noted in the "silent" diplomacy which is carried on between the said three capitals.

Following President Bush's speech which "largely" supported the Armenian allegations, the leaders of the Armenian-American lobby, who want to pursue a "more active" diplomacy, reportedly stepped up their work to strengthen ties with the Soviet Armenian republic.

The ties Armenian-Americans have established with the "pro-independence" groups in Yerevan goes beyond exchanges of views and has reached the stage of material aid. This reportedly disturbs Moscow.

According to information obtained from Foreign Ministry officials, a resolution passed by the Armenian Supreme Soviet last month cites the Bush statement as an example to Moscow. This has disturbed Ankara, but has also shed light on Moscow's stance with regard to Armenian allegations.

Foreign Ministry officials believe that despite pressure from Yerevan Moscow is avoiding to issue a statement similar to Bush's.

Rather than taking an explicit stance with regard to the Armenian allegations Soviet sources have opted for the argument of "the past must be forgotten" and have raised the suggestion for closer ties between Ankara and Yerevan.

A statement this week by Vladimir Georgiev, a counselor to the Soviet ambassador in Ankara, suggested that Turkey should establish relations with Armenia similar to those it has established with Azerbaijan and Ukraine. This suggestion is being examined by the Foreign Ministry.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Murat Sungar declared two days ago that border trade through the Nakhichevan autonomous region is preferable to trade through Armenia. That declaration indicates that Ankara is not "eager" to establish relations with Yerevan.

Diplomatic circles state that Moscow has endorsed the policy of encouraging ties between Ankara and Yerevan

"in order to neutralize U. S. influence" and that, however, Turkey remains "cool" to this idea partly because of its historic and cultural ties with Azerbaijan and partly because of the stance of the Armenian Supreme Soviet.

Dispute Arises Over Election of Patriarch

Rules for Election

90AS02594 Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian
24 Apr 90 p 1

[Announcement by the Organizing Body for the Election of the Armenian Patriarch of Turkey]

[Excerpts] The office of the locum tenens of the Patriarchate delivered to the government of the Republic, through the Office of the Governor of Istanbul, the petition drafted by the Organizing Body on 9 April 1990 in connection with the election of the Armenian Patriarch of Turkey.

We received the following official memorandum signed by the Governor of Istanbul, the Honorable Cahid Bayar, which we present to our public. [passage omitted] [subsequent passages in Turkish]

Principles for the Election of the Armenian Patriarch

1. Each church parish constitutes an electoral district. The full membership of the Parish Administrative Council [of each parish], headed by the eldest priest, constitutes the Parish Electoral Commission.

2. Each Parish Electoral Commission elects a lay male or female person who is a resident of the church parish, who is a member of the Armenian Gregorian community and who is a Turkish citizen of at least 18 years of age. The election of this one person is officially recorded and reported to the Office of the Governor.

3. The lay persons elected from each church parish and nine clergymen elected by the clergy among themselves constitute the Patriarchal Election Commission. The Patriarchal Election Commission then forms the Commission for the Determination of Patriarchal Candidates which is to be comprised of 14 members seven of whom are lay persons and seven clergymen.

4. The Commission for the Determination of Patriarchal Candidates identifies not more than five patriarchal candidates and reports their names to the Office of the Governor not later than 5 May 1990. The Office of the Governor determines whether the candidates meet the requirements specified in Article 5.

5. The following qualifications are sought in patriarchal candidates:

a) Candidates must have paternally-acquired Turkish citizenship and must never have lost their citizenship.

b) Candidates must be at least 40 years old.

- c) Candidates must be clergymen.
- d) Candidates must not have been convicted of any crimes.
- e) Candidates must enjoy the trust of the government of the Turkish Republic.

6. The Patriarchal Election Commission meets at the Armenian Patriarchate in Kumkapi on 20 May 1990, elects a Patriarch from among the candidates selected and reports its choice to the Office of the Governor.

7. The election of the Patriarch is held by secret ballot and public counting in the presence of a notary public. No proxy votes can be cast.

8. The commissions mentioned above are formed only for the purpose of holding the election, and they cease to exist at the conclusion of the election. [passage omitted]

Columnist Criticizes Rules

90AS0259B Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian
7 May 90 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts] Ugur Mumcu, a prominent journalist and a columnist for CUMHURIYET, devoted his yesterday's column to the patriarchal election. The article says:

[Passage omitted] The 55,000 to 60,000 Armenians of Turkey now face a problem which they consider very important: The election of a patriarch. Until now the following procedure has been used to elect a patriarch:

The entire Armenian community votes to elect a "congress of delegates" comprised of one clergymen and seven lay persons. These delegates then form a religious general council which prepares a list of five candidates. The "religious council" and the "organizing electoral body" approve this list of candidates. Members of the "congress of delegates" can also vote for different candidates not included in the candidates list.

Thus a two-stage procedure is used in the election of a patriarch: The Armenian community uses its vote as the elector of the first stage.

The government now wants to change this procedure. What does it do? Instead of making the Armenian community to be the electors of the first stage, it assigns that responsibility to the parish councils. This way, it gives to persons elected to manage church property a responsibility beyond their scope of authority. It also bluntly deprives the Armenian community from its most natural right of electing its own patriarch.

Seminaries and theological schools in Turkey remain closed. Consequently, the clergymen who will be a candidate for the Patriarchate cannot have been trained in Turkey. Bishops receive their education overseas.

The government also requires candidates to hold paternal Turkish citizenship and not to have lost their

citizenship at any time. These restrictions automatically limit the number of the candidates.

With its latest decree, the government also raises the required age of the candidates from 35 to 40. With this decree, the Patriarch is not elected but appointed, because there is only one candidate who meets all the requirements: [Bishop Shahan] Sivajian. [passage omitted]

The other eligible candidate, [Bishop Mesrob] Mutafian, is 34 years old. Thus he cannot participate in the election. That leaves only Sivajian. What does this mean? It means clearly: "Elect Sivajian."

A secular system of government requires the separation of state and church affairs. The hallmark of a secular government is its impartiality with respect to religions and sects.

The government cannot take a biased position by interfering in religious affairs. It cannot set conditions which serve the election of certain candidates.

Let the Armenian community elect its own patriarch in accordance with its own customs and traditions.

Cleric on Rules

90AS0259C Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian
8 May 90 pp 1, 4

[Excerpt] Today's edition of GUNES carries an interview with Bishop Shahan Sivajian, the locum tenens of the Patriarchate. The paper's correspondent had an interview with Bishop Shahan in the Governor's office building yesterday. In the interview, Bishop Shahan expresses his views with regard to the government decree on the election of a patriarch. He states that the Armenian community insists on holding the election in the traditional democratic spirit. He says: "Our government is an open-minded and democratic government. Therefore, we hope that these points will be taken into consideration.

Bishop Shahan responded to the questions as follows:

[GUNES] What does your petition incorporate?

[Sivajian] We demand that the election be held as it was held in 1961—that is in accordance with our traditions. That is what we request. Since we live in a democratic country we wish that everything is done in accordance with our traditions.

[GUNES] Did you draft the petition?

[Sivajian] The Organizing Committee prepared it. I am only acting as a intermediary to deliver it to the Office of the Governor.

[GUNES] Why did the Organizing Committee feel the need for such a petition?

[Sivajian] Because we came to the conclusion that the government decree does not assign any responsibility to the people. Of course, in the final analysis the Armenian community is subject to the decision that the government will make. In truth, the government is not appointing anybody. What the government is proposing is also an election. We want an election with broader participation. [passage omitted]

Catholicoses Appeal to Gorbachev

90AS0258B Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian
31 May 90 p 1

[Text] We learned this morning that the following letter, signed by Vazken I, Catholicos of All Armenians, and Karekin II, Catholicos of the Holy See of Cilicia, was delivered to Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow on 28 May. The letter expresses the concerns of the two catholicoses on Artsakh. The letter was drafted in Paris.

His Excellency Mikhail Gorbachev President of the Soviet Union Moscow

We, Vazken I, Catholicos of All Armenians, and Karekin II, Catholicos of the Armenian See of Cilicia, having come together to consecrate the newly-built Armenian church in Belgium, met in Brussels and Paris with several Armenian delegations from France, Britain, Italy and the United States who expressed to us the deep concern of the 2 million Armenians in the Diaspora with regard to the anti-Armenian policy that has been manifested in Nagorno-Karabakh recently.

We, as the expressors of their justified expectations, feel obligated to draw your attention to the following points:

a) The Armenian people of the Diaspora are hopeful that your persistent efforts for the restructuring and democratization of the multiethnic Soviet nation will eventually be crowned with success and that soon the entire Soviet homeland will be set on a course of new life and prosperity as a harmonious family of autonomous nationalities.

b) Armenians believe that a just resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem on the basis of the fulfillment of the demands of the Armenian population of the region and the right of self-determination of nationalities; and the creation of all legal and administrative conditions in the region to enable the Armenian population to run its administrative, economic, educational, cultural and religious affairs autonomously and without repression are prerequisites for the realization of restructuring and democratization.

c) We believe, Honorable President, that having experienced the tragic bloodshed of the past 2 years in Sumgait, Baku, Kirovabad and other places, it is time to exercise your presidential powers to take the necessary measures so that the legal conditions enumerated above can be truly and practically established in Nagorno-Karabakh in order to prevent any additional bloodshed.

It is hard to imagine harmonious coexistence and collaboration among the nationalities of the Soviet Union without the existence of respect for the self-determination rights of the nationalities.

We assure you that it is the wish of all Armenian people in both Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh to live and to prosper with their creative forces inseparably from the great family of the nationalities of the Soviet Union but in conditions of autonomy and national dignity.

Honorable President, please accept our warmest wishes for your good health and the full success of your renovating patriotic ideals.

With deep respect,

[Signed] Catholicos of the Holy See of Cilicia; Catholicos of All Armenians.

Turkish Envoy Visit to Yerevan Reported

90AS0258A Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian
24 May 90 pp 1, 4

[Text] Today's issue of TERCUMAN carries an interesting report by the paper's Ankara correspondent, Mehmet Ali Kisalali. The report states that foreign diplomatic circles have been suggesting to Turkey to establish ties with Armenia. The reporter says that, responding to an invitation from Armenia, Turkey's envoy in Moscow, Ambassador Vural Volkan, visited Yerevan where he was received very well. After returning to Moscow, Volkan sent a detailed report to Ankara describing the welcome given to him in Yerevan. The report notes that contacts between the ambassador and Yerevan began following Patriarch Shnork's death.

A Western ambassador has said on this issue:

"We were pleased to hear that President Ozal has instructed the Turkish ambassador in Washington to establish contacts with Armenian-Americans. This is welcome because it is the duty of diplomats to establish contacts. There is nothing to fear about contacts. However, in our opinion, Turkey must prefer to develop its ties with Armenia. That way it can have a stronger influence on Armenian-Americans. In addition, your relations with Moscow can help you. Today there is a problem between Armenia and Azerbaijan, and that will limit Turkish initiatives at this stage."

A senior official of the Soviet embassy in Ankara has said:

"We are doing our best for the improvement of relations between Turkey and Armenia. Border trade can be considered a first step. Of course there are problems about which both sides are sensitive. The solution of those problems requires time. However, contacts are useful, and the Turkish ambassador's visit to Armenia is a good beginning."

Meanwhile, Turkish Foreign Ministry circles have stated:

"It is well known how sensitive an issue the Armenian problem is in Turkey. We must be very cautious in establishing contacts with Armenians. Our ambassador's visit is a positive step. However, we believe that contacts at other levels may have drawbacks. Let us not forget that this issue is on the agenda of the National Security Council. The Armenians are not generally warm toward us. There is also the tense situation between Armenia and Azerbaijan. There is not much that can be done in these circumstances. At the moment, the inclination in Turkey is to lump the Armenian-Americans and Armenia together."

[Note by MARMARA] The report about Ambassador Vural Volkan's visit to Yerevan sounds peculiar. As far as we know, the ambassador has not yet visited Armenia.

Prospect of Trade Ties With Turkey Viewed

*90AS0260E Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian
11 May 90 p 1*

[Text] MILLIYET's Moscow correspondent, Cenk Baslamis, today publishes an interesting interview with Edvard Asaturovich Aygazyan, the representative of Armenia in Moscow. During the interview issues related to the establishment of economic and political ties between Armenia and Turkey are discussed. The article is entitled: "Unexpected Temperance by Armenians." The writer says that cordial relations have been established between Ambassador Vural Volkan, Turkey's envoy in Moscow, and Catholicos Vazken I since the death of Patriarch Shnork. Vural had sent two telegrams of condolences, and the Catholicos invited him to Armenia.

Although it took months before the Turkish reporter could have an appointment with Aygazyan, Aygazyan greeted him warmly and responded to his questions with candor.

[MILLIYET] What is your assessment of the issue of economic relations between Turkey and Armenia?

[Aygazyan] Trade ties are growing among all civilized nations. Armenia, too, wants to develop its ties with neighboring countries. Trade is an issue that concerns both sides. Consequently, if it is based on mutual interests we would welcome it. It is very important to assess the prospects of trade relations between Turkey and Armenia. Both countries specialize in agriculture and industry, and proper grounds can be found for cooperation. Not only trade but also scientific ties can be established between Turkey and Armenia.

[MILLIYET] What about political ties?

[Aygazyan] They must be developed as well.

[MILLIYET] How?

[Aygazyan] By talking and discussing the existing problems. The government authorities of the two countries must determine the areas in which progress can be made. The most important point is this: There are events in the history of Turkey and Armenia which are interpreted differently by the two sides. As is known, certain events occurred at the end of the last century and the beginning of this century. Obviously the leaders of present Turkey and Armenia did not take part in those incidents. However, those events are interpreted differently. The leaders of the two sides can get together and establish points common interest. Differences can be narrowed on certain points. If such a narrowing of differences is achieved, a political cooperation can also be established.

[MILLIYET] Perhaps the developments that followed Patriarch Kalustyan's death can be considered a first step.

[Aygazyan] Undoubtedly yes. Our public was extremely pleased by those developments.

[MILLIYET] Is it essential to forget the past to develop relations?

[Aygazyan] That is hard to answer. The past cannot be forgotten. The real issue is the interpretation of that past. But first trade ties must be established. I think that rather than moving from political to trade ties, we must move the other way, from economic ties to trade ties [as published]. Economic ties bring with them political ties as well. Right now I have a young Turkish reporter before me. I am not prejudiced against you. However, certain hurdles must be removed before a real cooperation can be established. That is why the two sides must demonstrate good will. I do not know if we are ready for something like that today. But I know that two countries that want to establish trade relations with each other can always find points of common interest. Trade draws countries closer and opens the way for political relations.

[MILLIYET] Would Yerevan agree to host a Turkish delegation to discuss trade relations?

[Aygazyan] Of course. However, in practice there is need for time. You know that at present our country is in a state of tension. Our relations with Azerbaijan are broken.

[MILLIYET] Do you think that the Armenian resolution that has been submitted to the U. S. Congress is beneficial for the Armenian people?

[Aygazyan] That is hard to answer. As I said, Turks or Armenians or anyone else can interpret those issues differently. Personally, I would condemn my own people if it is guilty.

ArSSR KGB Chief Comments on Dashnak Party

*90AS0260C Paris HARATCH in Armenian
10 May 90 p 2*

[Article by Arpi Totoyan: "What Is Not Secret"]

[Excerpts] The 13 March issue of KHORHRTAYIN AYASTAN carries an interview that V. Badamyantz, the chairman of Soviet Armenia's State Security Committee, had with correspondents of TASS and ARMENPRES. [passage omitted]

For Diaspora Armenians the central theme of the interview comes at the end with Badamyantz commenting on the Diaspora, the political parties operating there and their ties with the Motherland. Stating that a broad dialog with various organizations and political parties in the Diaspora has become possible during the present time of democratization and restructuring in the Soviet land, Badamyantz says: "Since the establishment of Soviet rule in Armenia, the republic has traditionally maintained friendly relations with the Hunchak and Ramgavar parties."

The period of free speech forces Badamyantz to say the following about the Armenian Revolutionary Federation [Dashnak Party]: "The political platform of the Dashnak Party and its anti-Soviet activities during the great patriotic war did not permit, in the past, to establish any relations with it. However, the refreshing processes that we are observing here and the natural aspirations of the Dashnak Party for their homeland have changed much on this issue as well."

The next remarks explain the "Dashnak Party's natural aspirations for their homeland": "The 24th Congress of the Dashnak Party, which was held in August 1988, for the first time resolved and declared in its political platform that it supports the process of restructuring in the Soviet Union without reservations and that it is renouncing any negative acts against the Soviet Union and its inseparable part, Armenia. The Dashnak Party declared openly that they are strongly disagree with all the activities that are aimed at the secession of Armenia from the Soviet Union, comprehending the disastrous destructiveness of such an act."

The Dashnak Party wins further accolades from the KGB chief because "the Bureau of the Dashnak Party expressed opposition to the activities of many popular organizations and groups in the republic which are harming the friendship and the historical ties between the Russian people and Armenians."

The evaluation of this patriotic activity by the chief of Armenia's security in the present climate of democracy and restructuring across the Soviet Union ends with the following remarks: "Everything depends on perceiving the present realities correctly and the desire to conduct a sincere and kind dialog with us."

This interview with Badamyantz, gives the reader the opportunity to comprehend the success of restructuring in the Diaspora, but it would be hard to make similar comments about the home front.

Press Organ of Gtutyun Organization Surveyed

90AS0260B Paris HARATCH in Armenian
8 May 90 p 2

[Report by Arpi Totoyan]

[Text] The official paper of the "Gtutyun" [Compassion] Armenian Benevolent Organization is published in eight large-format pages and in fully classical spelling. The inscription "Christ has risen from the dead" that appears in large letters across the front page [of the April issue of the paper] immediately sets LUSAVORICH [Illuminator] apart from the conventional press of Soviet Armenia. Every issue carries on its masthead the national blessing "Lord save the Armenians."

The meaning of Easter, religious obligations and so on are explained in successive pages. Also printed is the hymn of Holy Easter.

The paper carries an interesting interview with former political prisoner Azat Arshakyan. Following the 24 April demonstrations in 1965 [in Soviet Armenia], Arshakyan became a member of the National United Party together with [exiled nationalist dissident] Baruyr Ayrikyan "with the purpose of creating an army-type organization to achieve independence."

Arshakyan was first arrested in 1974 and was sentenced to 7 years in prison. He was arrested again in 1981. Commenting on the current political affairs of Soviet Armenia, Arshakyan says: "Many deserving people who should be in this movement have stayed out. I refer to the intelligentsia. Our intelligentsia is cut off from the people. They have not taken a well-defined course. We have no political intelligentsia."

The two pages devoted to the activities of Gtutyun are followed by a page-long article by Vahan Navasartian, a member of the parliament of the Armenian Republic [of 1918-1920] and a ideologist of the Dashnak Party. Entitled "The Point of Political Theory," the article is reproduced from Navasartian's book "What the Dashnak Party Needs to Do" which was published in Cairo in 1924. The excerpts selected by the editors of LUSAVORICH articulate the struggle for independence "which has fallen exclusively on the Armenian Revolutionary Federation" because "almost all political groups have joined hands on an anti-independence front leaving the Dashnak Party alone on the pro-independence front."

Magnificent expressions of openness are displayed in two obscure corners. The first of these is entitled: "Barunak Kaputikyan and Silva Kaputikyan." The article makes reference to a television appearance by the poetess where she declared that her father, "Barunak Kaputikyan's enjoiner to the Armenian people was to stay with Russia forever and to trust only Russia." LUSAVORICH contrasts this statement with the following remarks from Khosrov Tutunjian, an active participant in the battle of Van [in 1918]. "Barunak never believed that Western nations or Russia would intervene

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

to prevent the massacre and the persecution of the Armenians. The issue of reforms [in the Ottoman Empire] is only a pretext in the hands of the Tsarist monarchy for intervention in order to seize the Armenian plateau. Kurdish provocations and massacres, instigated by Russia itself, will be used as a pretext for this objective. We must not be fooled by pro-Armenian outbursts from Russian government officials." Having thus foiled S. Kaputikyan's attempt to back up her political ideology with her father, LUSAVORICH closes the April issue with another exposée. The last page of the paper devotes a column to two short historical pieces by historian Galust Galoyan. These two pieces portray the human agility to adapt to the times more vividly than a thousand speeches and articles. The writer's calling as a "historian" suffers in all this, but then what good would openness do if everything fell into its place?

Underscoring a manifest case of self-contradiction, LUSAVORICH publishes in two adjacent columns two paragraphs from Galoyan's writings about the Armenian Republic. In 1960, Galoyan wrote about the Armenian Republic: "The creation of the ill-famed Dashnak 'independent' Armenian government after the dissolution of the Sejm, brought about new and unspeakable misfortunes for the Armenian people. The policy of the bourgeois-nationalist Dashnak Party was entirely devoted to serving the interests of imperialism and gambled with the fate of the Armenian people. The [Soviet] Armenian authorities threw out the Dashnaks, the mortal enemy of the Armenian people. The Armenian people experienced the darkest days of its history during the brief period of infamous Dashnak rule. (From "The Heroic Rebellion of May.")

The same historian writes in 1990 on the same subject: "The victory that the people won against the Ottoman usurpers made the historic act of 28 May 1918 possible. After 600 years of enslavement, the Armenian people was able to reinstate its national statehood on a small portion of Western Armenia." (From "The General of the Armenians.")

The April issue of LUSAVORICH ends with a list of the names of Yerevan streets. The following is a sampling of that list of 96 names: Furmanov, Chaikina, Narimanov, Azizbekov, Taparashi, Libknekhti, Chkalov, Gaydar, Tsulukidze, Jabaridze, Tsereteli, Michurin, Khe menidzke. The list shows "how pitiful, unctuous, servile, xenophilic and ignorant were the people who named the streets of Armenia's capital." The list ends with the exclamation: "Mercy on us!"

LUSAVORICH is edited by Rafael Ishkhanyan. Despite the paper's somewhat excessively religious character, it serves as an example of Armenia's free press in a time of openness.

Declaration by Intellectuals Criticized

90AS0260A Paris HARATCH in Armenian
4 May 90 p 2

[Article by Arpi Totoyan: "A Declaration and Two Questions"]

[Text] A "declaration" signed by 22 persons mostly from the Armenian Academy of Sciences and the [State] University [of Yerevan] appeared in the 21 April issue of KHORHRTAYIN AYASTAN. The motivation for the declaration is the "progressive deepening of the critical situation in the republic": Interethnic relations have been growing tenser steadily, armed clashes continue to occur, a blockade is under way, the pace of work in the disaster zone remains slow, and there are refugees and disaster victims who remain without access to basic amenities.

The declaration says that "the position of the leadership of the republic has been uncertain and indecisive with regard to this situation." It adds that the administrative machinery "is more preoccupied with salvaging its public reputation than resolving the urgent problems that stand before the republic."

After describing the position of the official authorities in this manner, the declaration turns to "certain nonofficial organizations" and says that they "have been pursuing a persistent policy of confrontation with respect to the authorities and government bodies and hold factional selfish interests above pannational interests."

The newly-formed group that issued the declaration believes that "a dialog between all official and nonofficial organizations on the one hand and government bodies on the other" is essential "for the development of a pannational program." The group believes that "the path of parliamentary and democratic action and purposeful, gradual but resolute steps" is the way out of this situation.

This group of intellectuals "categorically" rejects "the single party system and the present flawed Soviet federation." On the other hand, the declaration believes that it is short-sighted "to raise the issue of secession from the reformed Soviet federation." The declaration finds political and economic individuality and sovereignty which seeks the creation of a confederative system as the most appropriate course.

The declaration then enumerates unnegotiable territorial issues one of which is the Artsakh problem. Without naming any parties, the declaration says: "Since Turkey has not yet acknowledged the Armenian genocide, the tendency to 'start a dialog' with it is an irresponsible policy fraught with disastrous consequences."

The declaration also refers to the issue of self-defense. As is known, armed factions affiliated with various organizations are in charge of this responsibility today. Inevitably, this situation—which arises from the absence of control by a single authority—leads to armed clashes

associated with self-defense. The authors of the declaration emphasize the need for putting this issue on "a legal basis" apparently in an effort to end this "lawless" situation and say that this very important initiative must come from the Supreme Soviet and the government.

The declaration also underscores the need for resolute action in the disaster zone. Noting the plight of the homeless, the declaration enumerates the measures that are considered essential: Establishment of economic sovereignty, the development of science and technology, joint ventures, maximum utilization of the opportunities offered by the Diaspora—in short, everything that has been said and written for the last 2 years but which stubbornly remain far from being implemented.

The authors of the declaration underscore the indispensability of a "sensible and active Supreme Soviet." In other words, according to the declaration, the solution of all the existing problems depends on the question of authority. The declaration adds that the opportunities of the upcoming elections must be utilized to their fullest and urges "the intelligentsia to participate actively in the pre-election campaign."

The declaration says in its conclusion: "A meeting of the representatives of the public as well as the republic's

official and nonofficial organizations must be convened as soon as possible to reach a national consensus and to develop a program to put our homeland back on its feet." The authors state that they support "the proposal to convene a national congress with the participation of all forces in the Motherland and the Diaspora."

The signatories of the declaration include names like V. Davtyan, S. Kaputikyan, L. Khurshutyan, E. Jrashyan and S. Boghosyan. The declaration says nothing new or different from the statements that have been issued by various groups. Should not these representatives of the intelligentsia offer some additional ideas to the public so that their remarks would not be just a repetition and so that they could clarify their remarks which smell too much of circumstantialism?

An inevitable second question is related to the timing of the declaration. As is evident, the condition of Armenia that the declaration depicts and the proposals it puts forward are already 2 years old. Why did these 22 intellectuals wait until the eve of the elections to state publicly that "in these critical days, there can be nothing loftier and more sacred for any individual than the destiny of our people and unreserved dedication to that destiny."

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Joint Iraqi-Jordanian Squadron Reexamined

*90AE0121A Tel Aviv BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR
in Hebrew Mar 90 p 39*

[Article by Yisgav Naqdimon]

[Text] On Saturday, 17 February, Iraqi ruler Saddam Husayn and Jordan's King Husayn dropped a "bomb-shell" on the international arena. The two states announced, through semi-official but reliable channels, the establishment of a joint "pan-national" squadron that will include Mirage-2000 aircraft. The announcement further stated that the squadron will be for training purposes, its sole objective being to save Jordan a substantial portion of its pilots' flight-time costs. This would thus be a matter of Jordanian pilots flying aircraft whose flight-time costs would be born by the Iraqis.

At this point, it is already necessary to qualify: Iraq and Jordan do not have Mirage-2000 aircraft. The Iraqis intend to buy them and Jordan has signed a deal to procure 12 to 20 Mirage-2000 aircraft. However, the deal will not materialize, at least in the near future, due to economic difficulties (see the interview with the Jordanian Air Force commander). Accordingly, it emerges that the aircraft in this case are Mirage F-1 planes in the two countries' air forces. The F-1 is comparable to the Kfir and excels in attack missions. In the Gulf War, it was Iraq's main plane. A dual-use refueling system installed on the F-1, which permits Mirage F-1 aircraft to refuel one another, increased the plane's operational flight range to 1,200 km.

In the Gulf War, these aircraft frequently attacked Iran's depth, after the power station in Tabriz was shut down for several hours in one of the most successful of these operations. Also, the F-1 was used in lethal chemical attacks. According to information in the world, the Iraqi Air Force has 72 such planes. The Jordanian Air Force has 34 of the F-1, which is the most important aircraft in its composition of forces. It is assumed that the infrastructure for the squadron already exists.

The squadron was established in the framework of the tightening of military cooperation between the two countries, which are members of the Arab Cooperation Council, a body established early last year that also includes Jordan and North Yemen. The decision to establish the joint squadron was apparently made in a January meeting between the two leaders. It was publicized about a week before a summit meeting between the members of the council. In the IDF [Israel Defense Forces], it is estimated that the goal in publicizing the establishment of the squadron was to underscore the closeness that is forming between the two states and to also test the reaction of Israel and the United States.

Jordan's well-known economic problems, which worsened last year, had a substantial effect on the Jordanian Army and Air Force.

According to IDF sources, the alliance was also strengthened, among other things, by fear on the part of Jordanians that their country is being presented as an alternative homeland for the Palestinians by different elements in Israel. This was accompanied by a fear that immigration from the Soviet Union "is liable to bring about a transfer of Palestinians to Jordan." It should be recalled that a feeling of strategic confinement has been felt in Jordan since 1988, when Jordan disassociated itself from Judea and Samaria and thereby lost a strategic asset. Iraq is willing to extend a warm hand, which the Jordanians view as backing in the face of a potential Israeli "threat."

Iraqi interests in this cooperation are sufficiently clear. Cooperation with the Jordanian Air Force is most important to the Iraqis, given that Jordanian air space forms a barrier between Iraq and Israel. In the scope of the "warm" relations between Iraq and Jordan, Iraqi aircraft last July made photographic surveillance sorties along the length of the Israeli border, which they could not have done from within Iraqi territory. Politically, the Iraqis are not inclined to improve relations with Syria in the short range. In the present situation, they can use strategic support of Jordan to redemonstrate to Israel their defense might, whose brilliance was dimmed in 1981.

Information analysts state that "the establishment of a joint squadron, and other operations, is a manifestation of cooperation between the two states that will make it easy for the Iraqis to attack Israel through, for example, the collection of intelligence. The squadron is only a manifestation of the real threat of cooperation. Ultimately, these are Jordanian pilots who travel to Iraq and fly there in Iraqi planes.

"The concern is that this cooperation could indicate a military alliance being formed to our east, an alliance that will bring nearer the full force of the Iraqi Army, the largest in the Middle East (with more than 50 divisions). Iraq also has the largest air force (more than 700 fighter planes), which has battle-proven operational experience.

"In the past, the Iraqi Air Force commander announced an air training program, in the framework of which Iraqi flight schools would accept trainees from the Arab states. We certainly deem reasonable a situation in which, through this cooperation, the two countries would be able to develop military industries that would provide pan-Arab services for the production and/or assembly of aircraft or aircraft systems."

Kuwaitis To Receive Egyptian Air Defense Batteries

*90P40076A London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic
2 Jul 90 p 6*

[Text] Kuwait will soon acquire its first shipment of "Amun 2-B" air defense missile batteries from Egypt. This comes after technical and tactical training, and active firing practice by Kuwaiti technical personnel.

Lieutenant General Mustafa al-Shadhili, commander of the Egyptian Air Defense Forces, said that the cooperation between Kuwait and Egypt in this area assures that Arab cooperation is an enduring and strategic matter. He expressed his hope that this coordination will be found among air defense forces in the Arab world as a whole.

Relations With Turkey Reportedly Improving

90AE0088B Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR
in Hebrew 22 May 90 p 14

[Article: "Filing Signals From Turkey"]

[Text] One of the most interesting phenomenon in the life of the State of Israel over the last two years is the dramatic improvement in Israel's standing in the international arena, and precisely on those continents and in those countries where our standing had been low. Thus, despite the intifadah, despite the tension and sometimes even the atmosphere of crisis in our relations with the United States, and despite the somewhat dark skies in western Europe -a decisive majority of African countries renewed relations with Israel. The iron curtain countries of eastern Europe followed in Africa's footsteps, and now, East Germany (with whom we have never had relations), Nicaragua, Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia are standing in line.

According to all indications, Turkey will raise the level of relations with Israel this coming summer and, to Jerusalem's distress, at the same time or in close proximity, Turkey will also raise the status of its relations with the PLO.

Israel's relations with Turkey have suffered from very few ups and very many downs. Turkey was among the countries that recognized Israel in 1948, despite Arab pressure. And, as everyone knows, most of the residents of this large country are of the Muslim religion. At the time, Turkey was one of only two countries in the Middle East (the second was Iran) to have diplomatic relations with Israel.

Over the past 10 years, relations between Ankara and Jerusalem have been at a low point. In 1980, after the Knesset passed the "Jerusalem Law," Turkey brought its ambassador home and lowered the status of relations between the two countries. The number one man at the Turkish consulate in Israel, Akram Gobendirhan, and the number one man at the Israeli consulate in Ankara, Yehuda Milo, have the very low diplomatic status of consular charge d'affaires. There is no doubt that the "Jerusalem Law" was just the excuse, and that the drastic cooling in relations stemmed from the rapprochement of Ankara to the Arab world.

Over the past several months, Jerusalem has recorded constant hints and signals that Turkey is seriously interested in warming up its relations with Jerusalem. And, as with Ankara's last move, this time, too, the Arabs have a part in the change. The Turks are disappointed by the Arab countries' position vis-a-vis the division of Cyprus

and the problem of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria. What's more, Ankara is currently in a water dispute with neighboring Syria and Iraq, following the establishment of the Ata-Turk dam on the Euphrates. It is a latent dispute that is likely to explode at any moment, especially against the background of the hard rain season that Damascus also experienced this winter.

In Jerusalem, all the signals coming from the direction of Turkey are being noted. Thus, for example, last independence day, for the first time in 10 years, official Turkish representatives participated in the reception held by the charge d'affaires in Ankara. At the head of the Turkish delegation that attended the reception at the home of Milo was the Turkish deputy foreign minister, Tugai Ochari. And what's more, the Turks issued a directive to their representatives worldwide to accept invitations from Israeli representatives and to participate in receptions held by Israel for independence day.

Akram Gobendirhan participated in a reception held by President Haim Herzog for the diplomatic corps at the Israeli president's home.

Two weeks ago Gobendirhan met, at his initiative, with Foreign Minister Arens at the foreign office in Jerusalem. This is the first time since the passage of the "Jerusalem Law" that Turkey's representative in Israel initiated a meeting with the Israeli foreign minister.

The Libyans Stopped Paying

In addition to its representative in Ankara, Israel has a General Consulate in Istanbul that handles Jewish and economic matters. On the Jewish issue, Israel's representatives have had their hands full of late. One need only open the atlas and look at Turkey's neighbors to understand the matter. In the economic area, there has been an awakening in relations between the two countries. In 1989, the scope of trade between the two countries came to approximately \$120 million, versus \$20 million in 1985. It is estimated that the flow of Israelis to Turkey's tourist attractions played a part in Ankara's decision to improve relations with Jerusalem.

By the way, it is not just in Israel that the signals coming from Turkey are being noted but in other Arab countries as well. One of the immediate results occurred in Libya. The Libyans, apparently due to orders from above, recently stopped paying their debts to Turkish contractors implementing large public construction projects in Libya.

GCC Report Optimistic on Future of Service Sector

90AE0169A Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English
21 Jun 90 p 10

[Text] Manama, 20 Jun (GNA)—According to an economic study released in the Gulf, the service sector is expected to look up, particularly the growth rates

recorded by the insurance, marine freight and aviation establishments in the GCC countries in the near future.

The study, issued by the Manama-based International Gulf Bank, said that the insurance and sea freight companies have in the post Iraq-Iran war era capitalised on the cessation of war and activated their operations which resulted in a rapid increase of their profitability percentages over the past few years.

The study added that the air transport industry has received added support due to the general growth rate in passenger traffic at the international level and the efforts exerted to revitalise tourism in the region. Additionally, the constant efforts of the countries in the region to diversify their economic stakes, with dependence on oil revenues which actively contributed to the increase in national income pouring out from the service sectors and this led to a similar increase in the GDP [gross domestic product] in the region.

The study pointed out that the service sector in the GCC is largely a net importer rather than a net exporter, in the sense that the region still depends on foreign companies for its main service requirements.

The study said that the value of deficit of banks in the services in the GCC countries as recorded in 1989 reached \$15.8 billion. However, this figure dropped steadily since it reached its zenith in 1981 when the deficit value reached \$44 billion.

Growth

On the other extreme, the value of services exports, which include revenues of marine transport, aviation, insurance, banking and touristic activities and others, recorded annual growth rates of 20 percent during the period of the boom (1976-81). But, the ensuing four years witnessed a great drop in these rates down to 2 percent before the drop began negative growth between 1986 and 1988.

The study pointed out that the value of importing these services from abroad zoomed by 35 percent annually during the period from 1976 to 1981 but this percentage increased by less than 1 percent during the period from 1982 to 1985 before it took a negative turn in the ensuing years.

The study reveals that despite the fact that the current situation in the Gulf aviation companies seem to qualify to utilise new chances, and consequently increase their revenues, they still face sharp competition on their international routes of operation, and hence it is certain that the announcement of unified Europe will force the aviation companies in the region to foster inter-co-operation to be better able to face up to this competition on the international air transport markets.

Owing to the inclination by the majority of aviation companies in the region to expand and modernise their

air fleets, the study added, the aircraft manufacturers began to double the prices of new orders for aircraft submitted during 1989.

Improvement

The study also pointed out that, with the improvement of the economic activities, the air transport industry is beginning to flourish again. Forwarding rates have resumed their increase at the time when the carriers started to utilise the surplus energy and also benefit from the drop in the insurance rates following the discontinuation of the Iraq-Iran war.

The study said that the Gulf countries have started to set up plans to establish new marine fleets in order to reduce the cost of exports and meet their constantly increasing requirements for transport activities. This has led to a rise in oil exports and encouraged marine transport companies to improve and upgrade their existing fleets and yet sign new contracts for building new ships.

The national oil-tankers fleet consisting of 61 tankers, with a total loading capacity of 5.8 million tons, of which 34 ships are used for transporting raw oil, 6 for transport liquified and natural gas and 21 for transporting petroleum products, the study continued.

The study projected that the average operational age of 75 percent of the Gulf oil tankers will increase over 17 years, where the oil tanker will need a replacement, and hence a total of 24 tankers with a total load capacity of 2.4 million tons will either have to be replaced or rebuilt during the period from 1990 to 1995.

Tourism

The study considered the revitalisation of tourism in the region a significantly serious effort resulting from the growing need to diversify the economic stages and develop potential touristic capabilities. Such endeavours will provide new job opportunities and increase national income.

The study said that the hotels in the area, which were set up during the oil boom period, and which used to suffer from the insufficiency of clients during the economic recession period, have started to witness a remarkable improvement in operational rates over the past years owing to the increasing numbers of visitors, tourists and businessmen.

The study stressed that the tourism sector in the region is still young and therefore it will be a long time before it will be considered a reliable source for extra national revenues and for the provision of new work opportunities for the citizens. This is based on the belief that the countries in the region are expected to reap the fruits of all efforts exerted to encourage tourism over the next few years, especially if the economic situation and activities kept on improving.

The study expected that airports in the region will lose a good percentage of their transit passengers when international carriers start operating long-flying aircraft. Consequently hotels in the region will start losing clients.

The study emphasised that the oil sector has actively contributed to the emergence of new types of insurance, one on machines and the other on ships and marine freighters.

The study called for the concentration of insurance companies efforts and for the return of insurance registration to the region, as they should be busy planning to consolidate their capabilities and enrich their capitals over the years of the present decade.

The study stressed on the ample opportunities existing for these companies to foster co-operation between them and mobilise their potentials to face up to growing hazards related to oil industries.

ALGERIA

Ben Bella on Elections, Political Action

90AA0215A Paris *LE FIGARO* in French 12 Jun 90 p 4

[Interview with former President Ahmed Ben Bella, head of the Movement for Democracy in Algeria (MDA), by Christine Clerc; date and place not given]

[Text] The scene is a spacious, modern chalet overlooking Lake Geneva, only a few kilometers from Lausanne, Switzerland. In this peaceful setting, former Algerian President Ahmed Ben Bella, 73, plans his return home after 23 years in prison and nine years in exile and responds to *LE FIGARO*'s questions. Covering the living room wall is a map of Algeria on which little red flags have been placed. They stand for strongholds of his party, the Movement for Democracy in Algeria.

[*LE FIGARO*] Why did you decide to boycott the municipal elections?

[Ben Bella] Those elections mean nothing because the regime totally controls them. Furthermore, the results were fixed in advance by a circular sent to the prefects.

[*LE FIGARO*] Are you not afraid that history will be made without you?

[Ben Bella] I feel I am at the center of history. I always have been, even when they pushed me aside.

[*LE FIGARO*] Today you are pushing yourself aside. Why are you delaying your return?

[Ben Bella] I will return when the situation is ripe. All my friends are warning me: "Ahmed, don't go back. They'll kill you! They are gangsters!" I have learned that certain officials of the regime said, "Make him come back and we'll take care of him." I don't want to make it easy for them. I know I am one of the ones who bother them the most, someone who catalyzes aspirations. They know I

am the only one who can bring the different factions together. That is why Chadli attacks me. He makes sarcastic remarks about the "new Messiah," about those who speak from abroad using the media lobby.

Real Tension

[*LE FIGARO*] You recently said you feared an end à la Ceausescu for him. Do you really believe that?

[Ben Bella] I do not make idle statements. Did you know that a week after I made my remark, a commando tried to take the Orden fort? The regime kept quiet about it. They talked of a civilian who allegedly got lost. A civilian! When the shootout between officers and soldiers lasted two hours? There is real tension everywhere. Something, a military coup, could happen at any time. People have the impression that Chadli, who has been in power since 1965 by usurpation, is a cork that has to be blown out.

[*LE FIGARO*] Does the FIS [Islamic Front of Salvation], which threatens to go out into the streets if it does not obtain an overwhelming majority of the votes, frighten you less?

[Ben Bella] The FIS is a reaction against the corruption of the government, accompanied by a phenomenon: a tidal wave of the holy, linked with development problems. They want to find the meaning of life. Basically, the FIS plays the role of a kind of "social ecology." And it does it very well. People go to the mosque and they find something to eat there.

[*LE FIGARO*] Are you not afraid that it will turn out badly, as in Iran?

[Ben Bella] For me, Islam means tolerance. In our country, we do not like the clerics to take power and proclaim, "God said...." But I would rather see a young person join the FIS than turn to drugs. Drugs are forever, while the FIS will last until we cure our childhood diseases.

Peaceful Solution

[*LE FIGARO*] How do we do that? Has Algeria, from which the elite and unemployed are fleeing, not been bled white?

[Ben Bella] It was worse in 1962. Then we had only two architects and scarcely 100 doctors in the entire country. Today we have an immense number of highly qualified professional personnel. With its vast territory, oil, and particularly its formidable man power, I assure you that Algeria can become a great country, but the prerequisite is confidence. Algerians must first be given a feeling of their dignity by eliminating corruption at the head of state.

[*LE FIGARO*] Does this mean that the people must drive out Chadli and all his FLN [National Liberation Front] friends so you may return to Algeria?

[Ben Bella] I am for a peaceful solution, a council of wise and honest men respected by everyone. There would be clerics, military men, representatives of all parties, even the FLN—why not?—provided it is on the same footing as the others. The council would take emergency measures and plan for the election of a constituent assembly.

Long-term power does not interest me, but it hurts too much to see my country in this condition. To do nothing would be desertion. I would like to restore confidence and help Algeria become a society sure of its identity, tolerant, and open. After that, I would withdraw to my native village.

AFGHANISTAN

(S.J.)

Letter Alleges Mullahs Use 'Death Hole' for Opponents

90AS0179E Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 1 Apr 90 p 3

[Text] Distinguished employees of HEYWAD, please accept my greetings and good wishes. I hope that under the protection of God, all Afghan brothers will live in peace and tranquility. Brothers, I have something to talk about, which I shall put in writing here.

The mullahs of Sepah and Nasr have built a death hole in the mountains of Nili called Eslamabad, into which, after their opponents and enemies have been captured and shot, they throw them. In early autumn 1368 [1989], under the pretext of hunting with one of my friends, I attempted to find the death hole of the mullahs. In a distant location in the Nili region, we found a large hole which made our hair stand on end when we saw it. It was truly sad to see the torn bodies and broken bones of human beings piled up along with such items as torn clothing, hats, boots, and socks.

Before seeing this scene, I was a strong supporter, but after witnessing this crime, I decided to seriously fight against them and expose their atrocities. My father tried to change my mind about exposing the crimes of the mullahs, because he was afraid that the hole might become his final resting place. But I decided to tell the people what I had seen. After I exposed this shocking crime, they tried to capture me. Finally, I was forced to escape to Iran. But I did not sit still there either, and I informed others as best I could.

You be the judge concerning the murder of a 25-year-old woman in the Luran Daykondi Village. They had captured a 25-year-old woman, accusing her of prostitution. This woman was a prisoner for 12 days and was only interrogated once during this period. The people of the area testified that she was not guilty of prostitution. The people who had come to testify were called traitors by Sadeqi (the chief of the militia in the area). Finally, a mullah by the name of Soltani appeared to be keeping the woman under surveillance in a house. Two weeks later, Soltani, the bloodthirsty mullah, along with two mercenaries went to the woman, beat her badly and took her to an unknown location. It later became known that the woman had been shot after being raped. Honorable news office, I hope you will publish my letter, which is based on facts I have witnessed with my own eyes, so that when the spring of peace comes to the suffering country of Afghanistan, I can bring all the documents to prove such a crime to you and the noble people of Afghanistan, to be published by you and judged by them, and in doing so, warn the Afghan mothers and sisters of the crimes of these motherless and sisterless, debased persons.

Most respectfully,

Your brother from the Province of Balkh

Report Criticizes Interference by Wahabis in Afghan Affairs

90AS0179C Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 10 Apr 90 p 2

[Article by Seyyedzadeh, publicity division]

[Text] One of the major links actively participating in the war against our country and people is the Saudi Wahabis, who in addition to giving material aid and weapons to the armed opposition have also taken part themselves in the war against the government of our people. The Wahabi Arabs in the past decade, alongside the interference of the United States and Pakistan, have found the conditions favorable for them and by using millions of dollars to achieve their sinister objectives have escalated their hostile activities against the government of the Republic of Afghanistan. They have bribed individuals among the groups opposing the government of the Republic of Afghanistan and through them have kept the fire of the destructive war and bloodshed ablaze. It should be mentioned that the Wahabi Arabs have found the extremist group of 'Abdul-Rasul Sayyaf most suitable for carrying out their hostile plans, and by distributing millions of rials among the members of this group, Sayyaf himself in particular, they have turned them into their servants. Not only by spending large amounts of money have the Wahabis escalated the hostile activities against the government of the Republic of Afghanistan, but also by sending thousands of armed Wahabis to Afghanistan for the purpose of bloodshed and destruction.

In the course of one year, the armed forces of the Republic of Afghanistan have single-handedly defended the people's government and the independence of the country against armed extremist groups, Pakistani soldiers, and more than 2,000 Wahabi Arabs, who have been directly involved in military operations and activities against the government of the Republic of Afghanistan and of whom a large number have been killed or wounded. The names of a number of Wahabi Arabs and Saudi Arabian nationals which have been killed in the war against Afghanistan have been published in AL-HURRIYAH no. 355, 1989 (such as Nuruddin, Abu 'Abd al-Qader, Husayn Ahmad Sa'id, Abu Hamzah, Abu Uthman, 'Abd al-Wahab al-Maghadi, Yahya Sinur, al-Felikaw, Maher Shalik, Sa'd al-Roshud, 'Abd al-Samad, Torki al-Hazal, 'Abdullah al-Jamaz, Ahmad Nabil, Jubran Nasir, Ahmad Abu Guth Khet Yazah, 'Abd al-Hamid, 'Ali al-Jamari, Abu Ibrahim Mazan Maluth, Abu Marv, Abu Mehru, Abu Muhammad Khalid al-Qublan, Abu al-Walid, Abu Khafaz Ahmad al-Ghalifi, Ahmad al-Biwak, Abu Roqiyeh, Abu Jihad, Abu 'Abdul-Razzaq), which itself indicates the direct interference of Saudi Arabia in the affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan.

The corpses of several of them have even fallen into the hands of the armed forces of the Republic of Afghanistan. More than 300 Wahabi Arabs have been killed in

the attacks against the enemy in upper Khowst. Also, in other border provinces a number of Arabs have been killed, and a number of the spies of the Wahabis, such as Sabah al-Karim; Zafir 'Ali, son of 'Ali Abu Mogram; Abu 'Abdul-Rahman, son of 'Abdul-Rahman, and Muhammad Imel have been captured by the armed forces of the country. In addition to having illegally entered the territories of the Republic of Afghanistan, each was carrying out a specific duty in Afghanistan. For example, Zafir 'Ali, son of 'Ali Abu Mogram, was assigned to propagate the sect of Wahabism among the extremist groups and in the areas temporarily under their control. Sabah al-Karim's duty was, in addition to direct participation in the war against the armed forces of the Republic of Afghanistan, to coordinate the attacks of the extremist groups and escalate the rocket attacks of the extremist groups on the city of Kabul, the [Mazd Ham] areas.

For one year, rockets were launched on the city of Kabul with the direct consultation of the Wahabi Arabs. For example, the rocket that hit the Pamir Cinema on 5 Qaws 1368 [26 November 1989] was launched on the city of Kabul by the group of Haji Shir 'Alam Wahabi, from upper Arghondeh, with the consultation of the Wahabi Arabs.

Commentary Details Mujahidin Drug Connections

90AS0179D Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 8 Apr 90 pp 1, 2

[Article by Siahvahsh]

[Text] A number of Afghan national figures over the years have strongly criticized the relationship between the heroin trade engaged in by high-ranking individuals in the government of Afghanistan and their use of Afghan refugees as dealers in smuggling narcotics between Afghanistan and Karachi through the border. But, given the vulnerability of the Afghans refugees and their dependence on the financial resources which come to them through the government of Pakistan, they have been unable to speak freely. One of the most outspoken critics is Seyyed Baha'uddin Majruh, the Afghan national figure about whom NEWSLINE MAGAZINE published a detailed article by [Orlif] Schultz [Larvins] in February 1988. Cited here is only a small section of the article on Afghanistan, "The Heroin Empire," in which some of the high-ranking civil and military officials of the former regime of Pakistan involved in heroin smuggling are talked about.

Dr. Majruh, in numerous opportunities before his death, in interviews with the reporter [Leaf] Schultz, expressed his anxiety about the fact that the Afghan refugees are becoming increasingly involved in the smuggling of narcotics. According to the 1988 DEA [Drug Enforcement Administration] report, some of the opium and heroin produced in Afghanistan is transported by the tribes near the border of Afghanistan to Peshawar. A number of Afghan refugees are engaging in heroin trade,

in cultivation, storage, or production of or dealing in heroin, or are involved in international smuggling of heroin.

Dr. Majruh criticizes the fact that U.S. officials have ignored the narcotics trade in the course of the civil war of Afghanistan and states that an Afghan or a Pakistani, regardless of how important he is, must be arrested if available evidence connects him with the narcotics trade.

Dr. Majruh regarded heroin a morally destructive factor. He was of the opinion that there should be no contradiction in U.S. support for the Mujahidin and fighting the narcotics trade. But his voice was left unheard. He merely spoke about private matters.

The danger of taking an open position was obvious. Less than a mile from his office, where he was killed, is the luxurious residence of an important heroin king of Peshawar, who is a close colleague of a senior Pakistani official who has for years enjoyed great power over the Afghan refugees near the border.

It should be mentioned that those being used in the trade of such destructive substances are not safe from the threats of first-rate, second-rate, or third-rate rival smugglers or even their own people, who kill them in order to ensure that they take to their graves the major secrets of their illegal sale of narcotics.

The most revealing example in recent days is the murder of Nasim Akhundzadeh, the news of whose assassination by his narcotics-producing rivals has also been reported on radio worldwide.

Akhundzadeh, who considered himself the most important producer of destructive narcotics, sold more than 400 tons of heroin produced in Asia, Europe, and America and had defeated such a rival as Gulbuddin Hikmatyar.

Gulbuddin planned to assassinate his dealing rival (Akhund) on 5 Hamal [25 March] to retain his position among the internal members of the Mafia.

INDIA

Reports on 'Misuse' of U.S. Food Aid Denied

46001648 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 2 Jun 90 p 5

[Text] Bombay, 1 Jun—A Catholic Relief Service (CRS) official in Delhi, denying reports in an American newspaper that Indian bishops, priests and nuns could have "misused" U.S. Government food aid distributed through CRS, has conceded that there were "a couple of instances where problems had arisen" but insisted that everything had been set right.

"The audit report has not accused anyone of misuse, contrary to what has appeared in newspapers. No one has been sacked or removed from the programme. The

statements made in newspapers are incorrect. No one has been indicted," Mr James de Happorte, the head in India of CRS, the American charity, told this paper when contacted on telephone in Delhi.

The report in the WASHINGTON POST, subsequently reproduced in the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE was based on a despatch from the paper's Delhi correspondent.

It quoted U.S. officials who did not want to be identified as saying that an audit by Price Waterhouse, an American accounting firm, asked to audit the food programme by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) had found that Indian Catholic church official had used short-weighing measuring devices for distributing food and given recipients 15 to 20 percent less food.

The report said that the audit report found that church officials had also "created false lists of food recipients, improperly used donations to support commercial business and deliberately concocted inaccurate records to hide abuses."

The report said that during physical inspection of food stocks at a major distribution centre, a Price Waterhouse auditor found that a priest had arranged sacks of food to make it appear that the warehouse was full.

"But when auditors ignored the priest's assurances that everything was in order and climbed on top of the bags, they found that he had constructed walls of bags with a hollow centre and that a large amount of food was missing, apparently sold for cash on the open market."

The paper said the audit report stopped short of accusing the bishops, priests and nuns of theft but concluded that the food relief programme they administered "was operated in an atmosphere whereby the commodities could be misused with little risk of detection."

According to the report, U.S. officials said a definitive judgment about whether officials had deliberately stolen large amounts of U.S. food was beyond the scope of the audit. "But they said the evidence uncovered suggested to them that significant theft and corruption had occurred."

A Price Waterhouse official, Mr T. Basu, when contacted in Delhi said he could not talk about any report given by his firm to any client, let alone the U.S. Government at whose request the audit was done. USAID officials in Delhi also could not be reached on telephone.

However, when asked about the alleged rigging of food stocks in the godown, Mr Happorte admitted that there was "a difference between the physical and the book balance" at a warehouse which he would not identify. But, he insisted, "that was only a fraction of a percent of the programme."

"We bring in four million units of food a year worth \$20-23 million. We work through 5,000 groups all over

the country. There were a couple of places where there were problems. But all that has been set at rest and everything has been reconciled. Many things were discovered even before the audit because we have a monitoring system of our own and we have taken action to strengthen it," Mr Happorte said.

This was apparently in reaction to the audit report's alleged chastisement of CRS for failing to closely monitor the distribution of U.S. Government food.

"I have worked in many countries. In India, the level of accountability is in no way inferior. The people are relatively sophisticated and know how to keep record books. There is no serious problem," he insisted.

Mr Happorte said his organisation had replied to the audit remarks and the reply had been incorporated in the final report. "We accept some of the findings and we reject some of them," he said.

Asked which findings CRS accepted, he said "recommendations about some improvements in management." The project continued to be supported by the U.S. Government which had recently provided additional funds of \$4 million, he said.

Singh Interview With NEW STRaits TIMES Reported

46001664A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 3 Jun 90 p 9

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, June 2 (PTI)—The Prime Minister, Mr V. P. Singh, has said the apprehension that the National Front government would not last long was misplaced.

The apprehension, he said, was based on the fact that only 140 out of 540 members of Parliament belonged to his party.

"This judgment based on numbers is misplaced and made the calculation wrong," the Prime Minister said in an interview to the Malaysian English daily, THE NEW STRaits TIMES.

The political stability of his government came from the "support of the people." The present government, he declared, believed in issue-based politics. "It was because of this that even though it was a minority government, it had been able to push through four constitutional amendments which required a two-thirds majority.

"The endorsement of such politics had to come even from the opposition. So far, the only real option in Indian politics had been the Congress party. We have opened a second option of centrist forces. This is very significant," he said.

The democratic options had got a real thrust by this process, the Prime Minister added.

Asked whether his victory signalled the end of the domination of the Nehru family in Indian politics, he said that no one in India believed in the "divine right of a dynasty."

His government, however, did not wish to see the end of the Congress party. "I believe that there should be a centrist opposition and the Congress must be there."

On Punjab and Kashmir, Mr V. P. Singh said India's ethos from the time of Mahatma Gandhi had given importance to non-violence. India had eschewed the use of violence for politics. The giving of legitimacy to violence for achieving political ends was new to India.

The Prime Minister said he had called for all parties to come together to find a solution to the Kashmir issue.

The massacre of Muslims by Muslims in Pakistan "blew a great hole" in Pakistan's claim of being the protector of Muslims in the subcontinent, he said.

He pointed out that India had far more Muslims than Pakistan. Indian Muslims had supported the National Front government at the Centre and more importantly in the recent assembly elections.

The Prime Minister said during the last 15 days about 270 people had been killed in the Sind province of Pakistan. "These people who are dying are second generation refugees from India who regrettably are still being called Mohajirs in Pakistan."

He regretted that despite the good intentions displayed by his government, Pakistan had not responded in kind. On the other hand, that country continued to support terrorism in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir.

Despite a war with China in 1962 and the existence of a boundary dispute, India and China had been able to move forward positively. "This is because China had adopted an attitude quite different from Pakistan; it was not out to play underhand games," Mr V. P. Singh said.

He said for every one step that Pakistan took towards de-escalating the situation, India would take two. "Confrontation helps nobody," he said.

The National Front government had made an express commitment to improve relations with all neighbouring countries, according to the Prime Minister. "This was the mandate of the people."

India has never been aggressive in its postures and was spending far less than Pakistan and most of the countries in South-East Asia on defence, he said.

Whenever the troops had to cross Indian borders they had always returned to the homeland. India had always responded to threats from across Indian borders, Mr V. P. Singh added.

Singh's Efforts To Solve Ahodya Temple Dispute Blocked

46001640 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 13 Jun 90 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, 12 Jun (UNI)—The Prime Minister, Mr V. P. Singh's efforts to find an amicable solution to the Babri Masjid-Ramjanamboomi dispute received a further setback today with Muslim leaders stating that there was no common ground for talks with the Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] on the issue.

Leaders of the Babri Masjid Movement Co-ordination Committee (BMMCC), who held talks with Mr Singh on the controversial issue, said there was "no common point for compromise with the VHP because of the insistence of its leaders on locating the *garbh grah* (sanctum sanctorum) of the temple under the arch of the disputed mosque."

The BMMCC was represented at the talks by its convener Syed Shahabuddin, Syed Ahmed Hashmi, Ahmed Ali Qasmi, Shafi Moonis and Syed Yusuf.

Mr Singh was assisted by the minister of state for home, Mr Subodh Kant Sahay, and senior officials of the home ministry.

The Prime Minister had held talks with the VHP leaders on the issue on Friday. The VHP leaders had later announced their decision to go ahead with their plan for the construction of a temple at the disputed place of worship in Ayodhya in view of the 'failure' of the talks.

Mr Singh, during the 90-minute talks with the VHP, emphasised that the dialogue to resolve the dispute should continue. VHP leaders Mr Ashok Singhal and Mahant Avaidhyanath expressed their readiness for negotiations with the government, but asserted that the date for commencing construction would not be discussed.

Talking to newsmen after the meeting, the BMMCC convener alleged that the government had tried to get fat was issued by religious leaders in support of shifting the mosque to other place, but no Muslim leader had done this so far.

Syed Shahabuddin reiterated that the BMMCC would accept the court's decision on the dispute.

During the talks, the Prime Minister told the Muslim leaders that the government had no formula to settle the dispute amicably but it was in favour of a dialogue to find a peaceful solution.

Syed Shahabuddin welcomed the steps taken by Uttar Pradesh chief minister, Mr Mulayam Singh Yadav, for restoring peace in the state and hoped that the state would act firmly against those attempting to foment trouble.

Mr Shahabuddin demanded that the VHP campaign to recruit volunteers, organise training camps and hold public meetings, be banned.

He alleged that the activities of Parishad and the Bajrang Dal were in violation of the rule of law and divisive in nature.

He said BMMCC was committed to accept the final judicial decision on the question of title to the Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid premises at Ayodhya and to participate in negotiations to find a solution.

Calcutta (PTI)—“I shall not allow ‘shilanyas’ or construction of any temple at Ayodhya till the court verdict as long as I am the chief minister,” Mr Mulayam Singh Yadav, said here today.

Mr Singh made it clear that no matter how important a religious or political leader is involved, stern action would be taken if attempts were made to build a temple at the disputed site.

In a hard-hitting speech on communalism at an anti-communal convention here, he referred to the arrest of the Shankaracharya of Dwaraka and said that he would take the same action if attempts were made to disturb peace and harmony.

No Shankaracharya was greater than the motherland and he would not compromise on the country’s interests, Mr Yadav emphasised.

He lashed out at the Congress for adopting double standards on the issue of communalism and expressed the hope that the party should come forward with a clear stand.

Reportage on Prime Minister’s Visit to Malaysia

4 Jun Activities

46001645A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
5 Jun 90 p 1

[Article by Alok Mukherjee]

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 4 Jun—India and Malaysia have decided to give a new impetus to trade and economic exchanges to foster closer cooperation among countries of the South. The new commitment for a forward movement in trade came from the two Heads of Government, the Prime Minister, Mr V. P. Singh and his counterpart, Dr Mahathir Mohamad, when they led their respective delegations at the bilateral meeting here today.

Significantly, the Prime Minister has cleared the overhang of the massive trade deficit that India suffers in its trade with Malaysia by pointing out that he was not in favour of a balanced trade at the cost of a standstill in trade. In other words, the Prime Minister spelt out his view that he did not want any stagnation in trade out of fear of a deficit. There should be expansion of trade and balancing could be achieved at higher levels.

To encourage greater trade exchanges, the Indian delegation proposed that the present Indo-Malaysian Joint Trade Committee should be upgraded to the level of a joint commission to be headed at the ministerial level. The present committee meets at the secretaries’ level. The Malaysian side conveyed that the proposal would be placed before the Cabinet for an early decision.

More Flights

It was also broadly agreed to encourage tourism between the two countries and in this context, suggestions were made by the Malaysian side to increase the number of flights between the two countries. As of now, the Malaysian Airlines (MAS) flies five times a week to Madras and once to Delhi. Hereafter there will be two flights to Delhi, the Malaysian side announced.

On the other hand, Air India has only two flights to Kuala Lumpur and it was suggested that this number be increased. The Indian side pointed out that at present the Indian Airlines and Air India had problems with aircraft and once this was eased the matter would be considered.

India has also offered to aid the setting up of the fourth faculty of medicine in Malaysia for which medical experts and teachers would be sent to Malaysia. In response to a Malaysian request, the Indian side also gave an assurance that the number of Malaysian students in Indian medical colleges would not be allowed to go down. Rather, their number would be increased, although the Government was planning some changes in the rules governing admission of foreign students to Indian medical colleges.

The External Affairs Minister, Mr I. K. Gujral, suggested that Malaysia import more of Indian consumer products to which it was suggested that India companies should step up advertisement in this country.

On the whole, it was felt there should be greater exchange of businessmen and politicians so that the development models of the two countries could be studied by each other. “Instead of looking to the West for development models, we can learn from each other,” Mr Singh told the meeting.

PTI, UNI report:

Addressing a large gathering during a visit to the high-tech advanced training centre established by the Hindustan Machine Tools (International), 63 km from here in Selangor State, Mr Singh said the centre could be the beginning of a long and rich partnership between the two countries.

The RS 19-crore centre, the first of its kind in Malaysia, will help upgrade skills in various trades of industrial workers.

The Prime Minister regretted that the perceptible improvement in the global political climate was not reflected in the economic sphere where disparities

between the rich and poor nations continue to widen. In his speech at a banquet hosted by the Malaysian Prime Minister, Mr Singh said, "The relentless pursuit of affluence by a few is perpetuating the poverty of the many. In the final analysis a world without war can be sustained by a world without want." "Even as we progress in some areas we seem to take a step backward in others."

Further Details Given

46001645B Madras *THE HINDU* in English
5 Jun 90 p 7

[Article by Alok Mukherjee]

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 4 Jun—Malaysia, an important member of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC), has endorsed the Indian position on Kashmir and has suggested that the problem with Pakistan should be settled peacefully through negotiations within the framework of the Shimla Agreement.

The Malaysian endorsement of the Indian position came at the extended meeting the Prime Minister, Mr V. P. Singh, had here today with his Malaysian counterpart, Dr Mahathir Mohammed. The two Heads of Government had a hour and a half long session at one-to-one level, assisted only by the respective Foreign Ministers.

The delegation level meeting that followed took up other matters of bilateral interest pertaining to trade, technological cooperation and linkages in medical education.

According to spokespersons of the two countries, who jointly briefed the press after the meetings, the Malaysian Prime Minister appreciated the detailed briefing Mr Singh gave him on India's relations with its neighbours with particular reference to Pakistan. According to the Malaysian spokesman, Dr Mahathir said that "Malaysia would like to see India and Pakistan settle the issue peacefully through negotiations as reaffirmed by the Shimla Agreement."

In fact, the Indian Prime Minister has utilised almost every occasion of his individual meetings with the various Heads of State assembled here for the G-15 summit to apprise them of the situation in Kashmir and Punjab and all the Heads of State or Government he talked to have appreciated the Indian stand on this issue.

The OIC is scheduled to meet soon and the expectation is that with many members briefed about the Indian position, the possibility of hardliners launching an anti-India tirade may be marginalised to some extent.

The Prime Minister's exhaustive briefing on Kashmir to Dr Mahathir also found mention of China when Mr Singh pointed out that though a solution was not possible overnight, a congenial atmosphere had been created and positive moves were being made by the two countries to improve relations despite long-standing problems of border demarcations and territorial disputes. India had planned a similar relationship with Pakistan, but its

efforts were frustrated by Pakistan's insistence on supporting insurgency in India.

Incidentally, the Prime Minister has confirmed the fact that India had sent some "signals" to Pakistan and was awaiting a response from them. Without disclosing what exactly the message to Pakistan was, the Prime Minister said he was expecting an early reply, within a week or 10 days. He said India had given a great deal of allowance to Pakistan since it recognised that political compulsions in that country prompted them to take certain stands.

India knew that the recent postures against this country was a traditional practice by Pakistani Governments but when such traditional postures were backed by mass rallies, public funds, exhortations to people to cross the border and moving of troops to forward positions, then these were not just political statements. Red alerts and cancellations of leave (of armed forces) went beyond political posturing, the Prime Minister emphasised. These remarks came in the course of an interview that he gave to an international publication.

Discussion at G-15 Meet

46001645C New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English
3 Jun 90 p 1

[Article by Mohd Sayeed Malik]

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 2 Jun—On the penultimate day of its meeting here today, the G-15 Summit concentrated attention on debt problem and issues arising out of the unbalanced nature of the present course of North-South dialogue.

Intervening in the discussion, Prime Minister Vishwanath Pratap Singh called for a more cohesive approach by the developing countries in their fight against the developed North to secure justice in international economic relations.

Attempts were being made by the developed countries to put undue pressure on the poor countries and these must be resisted, he said.

The Prime Minister appealed to the developing countries to be careful of cross linkages in their negotiations on trade and other matters with the developed countries. If any retaliatory steps were required, it should be commonly taken and in the same sector. An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth should be the approach, he emphasised.

He expressed apprehension that the North was seeking to dishearten the countries in the South and recalled that India and Brazil were being unduly pressurised.

He called for a united counter-action and assured that India was doing everything possible to ward off such pressures and threats.

The summit was generally appreciative of India's efforts in seeking to reduce its debt burden, especially when it came to imposition of conditionalities.

Mr Singh put forth two concrete suggestions by way of favouring creation of a small secretariat for G-15 as mooted earlier and by endorsing Malaysian Premier Mahathir Mohammad's idea of strengthening information exchanges between countries in the South.

Mr Singh today held separate meetings with Senegal President Abdou Douif and Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe. The Prime Minister told the Senegal leader that Pakistan was trying to internationalise the Kashmir issue which was essentially only a bilateral one. A second meeting between Mugabe and Singh is due today or tomorrow.

The summit will conclude tomorrow after adopting a joint communique. Mr Singh will spend a day more here for bilateral meetings with Malaysian leaders. Kashmir and Fiji are high on their agenda.

Content of Proposals to Pakistan Described

46001642 Madras *THE HINDU* in English
7 Jun 90 p 1

[Article by K. K. Katyal]

[Excerpt] New Delhi, 6 Jun—India's confidence-building proposals, now under consideration by the Pakistan Government, envisage concrete steps to defuse tension caused by the recent deployment of the armed forces and to deal with clandestine cross-border traffic.

The text of the proposals has not been officially released either here or in Islamabad but enough of it is known through diplomatic sources to generate excitement and suspense on the next phase of dealings between the two countries. Of particular interest to diplomats here is the question whether India would adopt a take-it-or-leave-it attitude or be satisfied with a partial acceptance of the package. And in the second eventuality, will it be prepared for talks on the unaccepted portions of its package and possible counter-suggestions by Pakistan?

The package envisions (1) sharing of information by the two sides on military exercises in their respective territory; (2) sharing of information on field firings (not the routine cases but shootings which have the potential of causing concern to the other side); (3) communication between commanders in identified sectors, at levels lower than that of the Directors-General of Military operations, who, already, are in touch through hotline; (4) joint (or is it parallel?) patrolling on the border; (5) steps to prevent violation of air space by military aircraft and (6) exchange of armed forces delegations so as to create confidence in regard to military activities in each other's territory.

The second portion of the package is designed to achieve the goal, mentioned in the Shimla Agreement—that the two countries shall prevent the organisation, assistance or encouragement of any acts detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations. It includes steps, applicable to both sides, to counter acts of

terrorism, closing of training camps, non-interference in each other's internal affairs. (This and other laudable objectives have been borrowed from the Shimla Agreement.) It requires the two sides to honour the 1989 agreement on the exchange of fugitives (perhaps, there is a reference to hot pursuit in this context). There is another reiteration of the commitments under the Shimla Agreement to respect the Line of Actual Control in Jammu and Kashmir and to refrain from hostile propaganda.

As was known, India took the additional step of withdrawing its armoured formation from a forward area in the hope that this "unilateral gesture" would be reciprocated by Pakistan. Also, it had proposed contacts and dialogue through the sub-commissions and the Joint Commission, co-chaired by the two Foreign Ministers—on a wide range of issues, from trade to Siachen.

Counter-proposals Likely

According to diplomatic sources again, Pakistan may accept India's package in part and may present counter-proposals in regard to the remaining portion. The Benazir government, which wanted a week or 10 days, to consider the Indian package, has yet to send its response. According to a Pakistan Foreign office spokesman, Islamabad was giving "serious consideration to the proposals made by the Government of India inspite of the fact that these proposals do not address the central issues responsible for the present tension."

Pakistan, to use the words of its spokesman, "is trying to determine if the suggestions made by India, some of which have been under discussion or even tacitly implemented by the two countries, constitute sufficient basis for a constructive and meaningful dialogue with India." [passage omitted]

India, Pakistan Swap Civilian Prisoners at Border

46001644 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 9 Jun 90 p 7

[Text] Wagah (Amritsar), 8 Jun (UNI)—India and Pakistan yesterday exchanged 83 civilian prisoners as part of the repatriation exercise held at this border checkpost.

According to an official spokesman here, while India repatriated 25 prisoners, Pakistan handed over 58 Indian nationals who had been under detention for the last one year.

A majority of the prisoners handed over by India were those arrested for trying to infiltrate Punjab, Rajasthan and Gujarat sectors. They had been brought to Amritsar on Wednesday.

Meanwhile, a large number of Pakistani border-crossers continue to languish in Indian jails for trivial offences because of Pakistan's refusal to accept them as its nationals.

This came to light at the border check-post here yesterday during the exchange of prisoners.

While India had given a list of 89 prisoners of Pakistani nationality, the Pakistan authorities accepted only 25, claiming the rest did not belong to their country.

A majority of those not accepted were Mohajirs, who later staged demonstration in protest against the Pakistani stand.

Among them was Mohammed Shaout, a resident of Karachi, who, along with his mother, brother and sister, had crossed over into India in 1986 and was caught in Amritsar's Khem Karan sector.

The four were sentenced to six months in prison but because of the Pakistan authorities' refusal to accept them, they are still in jail.

Similar were the cases of Abdul Kalan and Mohammed Ali, a mentally-retarded youth. Both were apprehended on the Punjab border and sentenced to six months in prison. It was only five years later that they were finally freed.

A number of prisoners of both countries said on being interviewed that they had been in prison for the last four to five years. Several, especially those freed from Pakistani jails, spoke of being tortured and subjected to other inhuman treatment.

Among the prisoners handed over to India was an MBBS student of Jammu medical college, Mushtaq Ahmad, who had crossed over into Pakistan in 1987 after he failed to clear the first semester exam. Mistaken for a spy, Mushtaq was tortured in jail and his ordeal ended only when he convinced the Pakistani authorities that he was not one.

Ahmad Hussain of Delhi had illegally crossed over in the hope of making more money in Pakistan, while Rana, a cattle grazer, had crossed the border to retrieve his cattle.

In the case of Harbir Singh of Kaoke village in Amritsar district, he spent two years in a Pakistani prison. In a state of drunkenness, Harbir Singh boarded the Lahore-bound Samjhautha Express from Amritsar and woke up to find himself in Lahore.

India Pledges Economic Assistance to Namibia

46001636 New Delhi PATRIOT in English 9 Jun 90 p 6

[Text] India is to give Rs 20 crore economic assistance to Namibia. This was decided at a meeting between the visiting Namibian Mines and Energy Minister Toivo Ya Toivo and Minister of State for External Affairs Hari Kishore Singh in the Capital on Friday, reports PTI.

The assistance is to be utilised in agriculture, rural development, education, health, small and medium industries and transportation sectors.

Earlier, the Namibian Minister called on Commerce Minister Arun Nehru and discussed matters of mutual interest in trade and commercial spheres.

In the meeting which lasted for about an hour, Mr Nehru underlined the need for exploring the possibility of joint ventures between the two countries especially in minerals.

It was also decided at the meeting Minister of State for Commerce A. Shreedharan, would visit Namibia to explore the possibilities of further strengthening the trade and economic ties.

Reportage on Nepalese Prime Minister's Visit to Delhi

10 Jun News Conference

*46001631A Madras THE HINDU
in English 11 Jun 90 p 1*

[Text] New Delhi, 10 Jun—The Nepalese Prime Minister, Mr K. P. Bhattarai, today came out with unequivocal assurances that his Government would take care of India's security interests and perceptions, and would not allow the Himalayan kingdom to be used as a military base by any third country.

The assurance came at a news conference jointly addressed by him and the Prime Minister, Mr V. P. Singh, shortly before the Nepalese delegation took off for Kathmandu.

Mr Bhattarai's reference to India's security concerns in his opening remarks made it evident that the matter was high on the agenda of the talks between the Indian and Nepalese delegations in New Delhi during the past two days.

Mr Bhattarai said India's concern over the security issue had been thoroughly discussed, and "we tried to assure them that our own views would show and prove that we shall take care of their security perceptions and shall not allow Nepal to be used as a base by any one—China or any other country."

Zone of Peace

Doubts about Nepal's intentions had arisen in India's mind following its deal with China a couple of years ago for the purchase of arms, and also because of the Nepalese move to substitute the 40-year old Indo-Nepal treaty of peace and friendship with a new international declaration recognising Nepal as a zone of peace. More than 70 countries are stated to have already pledged their support to the zone of peace proposal.

On both questions the visiting Prime Minister came out with unambiguous statements. On a perusal of the files he had found that the previous Government had entered into the arms deal with China principally because the prices offered were extremely cheap. But since the matter had led to some misunderstanding, he decided before

coming to New Delhi that no further shipment of arms would be accepted from China.

Pointing out that every army in the world needed arms, Mr Bhattacharai said if India was able to meet Nepal's need for arms (in terms of price, delivery and quality), it might not be necessary for his country to go shopping for arms elsewhere in the world to meet its requirements. On the move to make Nepal a zone of peace, Mr Bhattacharai's quick response was that the new Government in Kathmandu wanted the whole world—not Nepal alone—to be a zone of peace.

Mr V. P. Singh underlined the point that friendship between India and Nepal need not grow at the expense of any third country. A stage might come when India, Nepal and China might jointly address themselves to problems which concern them all. "Our friendship should be viewed in a positive spirit in the light of our special relationship, and not as directed against any third country."

The candid remarks of the Nepalese Prime Minister as well as the interim steps that the two Governments agreed upon to normalise mutual relations make it abundantly clear that Indo-Nepalese ties are now over the hump, and the two countries are firmly set on the course of intensive mutual cooperation.

Both Mr Singh and Mr Bhattacharai were ecstatic about the removal of doubts and suspicions, and the restoration of perfect understanding between the two neighbours. Mr Singh gave the impression that more than the concrete results emerging from the parleys between the two sides, he regarded Mr Bhattacharai's visit itself as a historic and landmark development.

Water Resources

Mr Singh said no dark clouds of suspicion and controversy any longer hovered over the two countries. They were going ahead to intensify mutual cooperation. A very important area of such cooperation to which Mr Singh alluded towards the end of the press conference was utilisation of the water resources of the region. Asked if Bangladesh could be involved in jointly harnessing the waters of the rivers common to the three countries, Mr Singh said Bangladesh had recently made some fresh proposals which are being looked into.

In the same vein Mr Singh said India, Nepal and China did not have diametrically opposite interests on all issues, and the possibility did exist of their cooperation on matters of common concern. Mr Bhattacharai said one could think of something which would benefit Nepal, India and China.

Not only on matters relating to bilateral trade and transit facilities for third country goods coming into or going out of Nepal but also on other matters of common concern—water resources, defence interests, etc.—the emergence of a democratic government in Nepal had led

to the harmonisation of perceptions, and the road was now open and clear to build upon this understanding between the two countries.

Mr Singh enthusiastically hailed the success of the movement for the establishment of democracy in Nepal.

Text of Communique

46001631B Madras *THE HINDU* in English
11 Jun 90 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, 10 Jun—The following is the text of the joint communique (along with annexures) signed by the Prime Ministers of India and Nepal.

The Prime Minister of Nepal, Mr K. P. Bhattacharai, visited India from 6 to 10 June 1990 at the invitation of the Prime Minister Mr V. P. Singh. The two leaders held talks on bilateral, regional and international issues of mutual concern. The talks were held in the most cordial and friendly atmosphere, characterising the age-old ties and shared values of the two countries in economic, social, cultural and religious spheres.

Mr Singh applauded the success of the movement for democracy in Nepal and the commencement of the process of the establishment of a multi-party system with a constitutional monarchy and with the people of Nepal as the repository of power. The two leaders reaffirmed their desire promptly to normalise the unique, friendly and brotherly relations between their two peoples, impart to them new dimensions and dynamism and elevate them to ever-rising levels of cordiality.

The two leaders reiterated their Government's adherence to and respect for the principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, national independence, non-use of force, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and peaceful settlement of all disputes. They agreed that Nepal and India would fully respect each other's security concerns. In this context, neither side will allow activities in its territory prejudicial to the security of the other. The two countries shall have prior consultations with a view to reaching mutual agreement on such defence related matters which, in the view of either country, could pose a threat to its security.

Pending the finalisation of a comprehensive arrangement covering all aspects of bilateral relations, the two Prime Ministers agreed to restore *status quo ante* to 1 April 1987 in the relations between the two countries. The two Governments will take all necessary steps, such as the issue of administrative orders, notifications, legislations/ordinances, etc. in order to ensure that *status quo ante* to 1 April 1987 is restored by 1 July 1990. Illustrative lists of actions to be completed by the two Governments are given in Annexure I (India) and Annexure (II) Nepal. It was further agreed that the above arrangements would not be altered by either side without mutual consultations.

The two leaders declared their solemn intention to usher in a new era of cooperation between the two countries

particularly in the spheres of industrial and human resources development, for the harnessing of the waters of the common rivers for the benefit of the two peoples and for the protection and management of the environment.

During the visit, Mr Bhattarai called on the President, Mr R. Venkataraman, and on the Vice-President, Dr S. D. Sharma. He also visited Rajghat and Shantivana and laid wreaths in honour of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Mr Bhattarai extended a cordial invitation to Mr Singh to visit Nepal. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

Annexure I

Steps to be taken by the Government of India:

Trade

Import of primary products from Nepal to be exempted from basic customs duties as well as from quantitative restrictions.

Provide access, free of basic customs duties and quantitative restrictions, for all manufactured articles containing not less than 65 percent of Nepalese materials or Nepalese and Indian materials, on a case by case basis, keeping in mind the need for expeditious clearance.

Allow 50 percent tariff concession on MFN rate of import duty, where value of Nepalese and Indian materials and labour added in Nepal is at least 40 percent of the ex-factory price, on a case by case basis, keeping in mind the need for expeditious clearance.

Export to Nepal of quota goods, namely those that are either restricted or canalised for export from India.

The refund of Indian excise duty to Nepal under the Duty Refund Procedure [DRP] should be such as to cover, but not to exceed, the basic and additional customs duties levied on similar goods imported from third countries.

Supplies of coke and coal to Nepal under quota will be resumed. Prices and supply schedules will be subject to agreement between the MMTC and the Nepal Coal Limited.

Canalising of exports of POL [Petroleum Oil and Lubricants] products to Nepal through IOC [Indian Oil Corporation], and agreement between IOC and NOC [Nepal Oil Corporation] for product exchange between the two organisations.

Restoration of the Standby Credit Facility to Nepal at the enhanced level of Rs 35 crores (Indian rupees).

Transit

Notification under Section 7 of the Customs Act, 1962, restoring the 22 border points covered under the GOI

Notification No 73/Customs F. No 552/58/78-LCI and 238/Customs dated 15-2-1979 and 149/84 Customs dated 19-5-1984, and the routes specified therein as Land Customs stations for the movement of goods between India and Nepal.

Annexure II

Steps to be taken by His Majesty's Government of Nepal:

Trade

Restoration of tariff preferences to Indian goods by, inter alia, exemption of additional customs duty.

Exemption of basic customs duty on imports of primary products from India as provided for similar products from Nepal imported to India.

Tariff preferences for third country goods should not be such as to be detrimental to the tariff regime for Indian exports.

Valuation of Indian goods exported under DRP for assessment of basic customs duty will be made on the basis of ex-factory/ex-depot price, excluding any element of refundable Indian duties and taxes, but including transport and insurance charges, wherever applied.

Indian Nationals

Removal of Indian nationals from the ambit of the Work Permit scheme.

Indian nationals employed in schools in Nepal will be placed on the same footing as Nepalese nationals as regards terms and conditions of employment.

Other Matters

Removal of restrictions on the movement of Indian currency between Nepal and India on the basis of reciprocity.

Restoration of facilities for Indian nationals who have their vehicles registered in Nepal on the basis of reciprocity.

The 15 points earlier designated as transit points for Nepal's transit trade, through India, with third countries, be reinstated.

Others

Restoration of the movement of Nepalese trucks to and from the nearest railway heads/terminals.

Once a joint venture is approved by the two Governments, the Government of India would allow movement of capital as per the terms agreed upon in the joint venture, and

Restoration of the three earlier immigration points on the Indo-Nepal border for the movement of tourists.

PRC Metallurgy Minister Talks With Nehru in New Delhi

*46001629 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 14 Jun 90 p 22*

[Text] New Delhi, June 13 (UNI). India and China have agreed in principle that the Sino-Indian joint commission on trade and economic co-operation should be held 'as early as possible.'

This was decided at a meeting here today between the visiting Chinese minister for metallurgy, Mr Qi Yuanjing, and the commerce minister, Mr Arun Nehru.

Both sides emphasised the immense scope for expanding and enlarging co-operation between India and China, especially over projects.

Mr Nehru indicated that the minerals and metal trading corporation (MMTC) would soon identify specific areas of ties and projects in the mineral and metallurgy sectors, which could be followed up with concrete proposals at the next meeting of the joint commission.

The commerce secretary, Mr S. P. Shukla was also present. Earlier, the foreign minister of Rwanda, Dr Pizimungu Casimir, also met Mr Nehru and discussed matters of mutual interest.

Later, Mr Nehru told the Indian association of foreign affairs correspondents that there were 'very positive signs' of China opening up ventures with India in the field of trade and commerce.

He said he discussed with the Chinese minister the question of the setting-up of joint ventures in the two countries in various fields, including mines and energy.

Mr Nehru said several projects were at present under discussion and concrete steps would be taken soon to implement them. Discussions would be held in detail when the joint commission met in Beijing in the next few weeks.

Mr Nehru said the Chinese minister made some very specific offers which would be considered expeditiously. He said that at present Sino-India bilateral trade amounted to Rs 300 crores and it was expected to be raised to the level of Rs 1,000 crores annually.

Besides the several commonalities in the economies of the two countries, there were encouraging signs to promote trade and diversify it in the future, he noted.

Mr Qi also met the Prime Minister, Mr V. P. Singh, and discussed issues on metallurgy.

Mr Qi, who is also a senior member of the central committee of the Chinese communist party, conveyed a message of greeting from the Chinese Premier, Mr Li Peng, to Mr Singh.

The Chinese minister said he was greatly impressed by India's achievements in the field of science and technology and industry.

Mr Singh mentioned to him that a Janata Dal delegation, which had just returned from China was highly impressed by the economic development of that country and its progress in various fields.

Mr Singh and Mr Qi also discussed improvement in friendly relations between the two countries. Mr Qi has met the steel and mines minister, Mr Dinesh Goswami.

Mr Singh emphasised on the need to identify common grounds of co-operation in trade, technical sector and industry between India and China.

Mr Singh said that he looked forward to the visit of Mr Li "sometime in the future."

Minister Announces New Policy on Small-Scale Industries

*46001649 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English
2 Jun 90 p 7*

[Text] New Delhi, 1 Jun (PTI)—The government announced yesterday a new industrial policy which aims at promotion of small-scale and agro-based industries and changes in procedures for industrial approvals.

The policy tabled in Lok Sabha by the industry minister, Mr Ajit Singh, raises the investment ceiling in plant and machinery to small-scale industries to Rs 60 lakh from the present Rs 35 lakh.

Correspondingly, for ancillary units, the investment ceiling had been raised to Rs 75 lakh from the present Rs 45 lakh.

The policy exempts from obtaining licenses for all new units upto an investment Rs 25 crore in fixed assets in non-backward areas and Rs 75 crore in centrally notified backward areas.

Cent percent export oriented units and units set up in export processing zones are also being delicensed under the scheme upto investment of Rs 75 crore. [sentence as published]

In order to enable small-scale industries play an important role in the total export effort, the small units which undertake to export 30 percent of the annual production by the third year would be permitted to set up their investment in plant and machinery to Rs 75 lakh.

The investment ceiling for tiny units had been increased to Rs five lakh from the present Rs two lakh. However, with regard to their location, the population limit of 50,000 as per 1981 census would continue to apply.

For the import of capital goods, the entrepreneur would be entitled to import upto a landed value of 30 percent of the total value of plant and machinery required for the unit.

For imports of raw materials and components, imports would be permissible upto a landed value of 30 percent of the factory value of annual production.

Keeping in view the need to attract effective inflow of technology, investment upto 40 percent of equity would be allowed on an automatic basis. In such proposals also, the landed value of imported capital goods should not exceed 30 percent of value of plant and machinery.

A new scheme of Central investment subsidy exclusively for the small-scale sector in rural and backward areas capable of generating higher level of employment at lower capital cost would be implemented.

With a view to improving the competitiveness of the products manufactured in the small-scale sector, programmes for modernisation and upgrading of technology would be implemented.

A number of technology centres, tool rooms, process and product development centres, testing centres, would be set up under the umbrella of Anapex Technology Development Centre in Small Industries Development Organisation.

The new policy envisages that the existing regime of fiscal concessions would be reviewed both to prove sustained support to the units in the small-scale sector and to remove the disincentives for their graduation and further growth.

Attempts would be made to expand 836 items reserved for exclusive manufacture in the small-scale sector. Encroachment and violation by large-scale units into areas reserved for small-scale sector would be effectively dealt with.

One of the major tasks of the SIDBI [Small Industries Development Bank of India] and other commercial banks and financial institutions would be to channelise need-based, higher flow of credit, both by way of term loan and working capital to the tiny and rural industries.

Under the new policy, import of technology would be allowed without obtaining any clearance from the government, provided that royalty payment did not exceed five percent on domestic sales and eight percent on exports.

If lumpsum payment was involved in the import of technology, the proposal would require government clearance, but a decision would be communicated to the entrepreneur within a period of 30 days.

An exercise will be undertaken to identify locations in rural areas endowed with adequate power supply and intensive campaigns will be launched to attract suitable entrepreneurs, provide all other inputs and foster small-scale and tiny industries.

Similarly, industries which are not energy-intensive will be identified for proliferation in rural areas where power supply is at present a constraint.

In order to widen the entrepreneurial base the government would lay particular emphasis on training of women and youth under the entrepreneurial development programme.

Bureaucratic controls will be reduced so that unnecessary interference is eliminated. Further, procedure will be simplified and paper work cut down.

In order to assist the large number of artisans engaged in the rural and cottage industries, the activities of the KVIC [Khadi and Village Industries Commission] and KVI [expansion unknown] boards will be expanded, and these organisations will be strengthened to discharge the responsibility more effectively.

Special marketing organisations at the Centre and state levels shall be created to assist rural artisans, besides, providing concessional credit, training facilities and free consultancy.

The industrial policy will promote projects which are organised in close cooperation on the basis of joint ownership. Growers will be encouraged to set up processing units within the framework of cooperative societies or similar institutional framework.

Agro-processing industry will receive high priority in credit allocation from the financial institutions.

In order to bring the best technology available to those industries, technology approvals will be given within 30 days of presentation to the secretariat for industrial approvals in the department of industrial development.

Views on Formation of National Government Reported

V. P. Singh

46001643A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
6 Jun 90 p 1

[Text] On Board Air India, 5 Jun—The Prime Minister, Mr V. P. Singh, today announced his support for the move to form a National Government at the Centre so that a countrywide consensus could emerge on important issues before the nation.

Talking to newsmen on board the special Air India aircraft bringing him back home after his five-day visit to Malaysia, the Prime Minister said his reaction to moves within his party for the formation of a national Government was a favourable one since it has been his life theme to move away from personality-based politics to issue-based politics. "I have a favourable reaction to it because I have always stood for consensus on national issues and if there is a national consensus on this by all the parties I would stand by it. It has been my thinking that we should move away from personalised politics to issue-based politics and if the country could move towards that direction, and if there is a consensus on issues and on what we have to do, I will be all in favour of a national government."

Inclusion of Cong(I), Rajiv

Although there was surprise at the Prime Minister's vociferous support for the demand, observers saw in this a move to counter the factions within his party who had raised the demand during his absence from the country. This is mainly because Mr V. P. Singh has set some conditions for the formation of the national Government—consensus within the Janata Dal as well as the agreement of all the supporting parties of the Government, including the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]. He has also not ruled out the inclusion of the Congress(I) and Mr Rajiv Gandhi personally, despite the fact that there is known opposition to the inclusion of Mr Gandhi in any such endeavour.

The Prime Minister made it clear that he had not discussed the subject with any of his party colleagues or the supporting parties and that the matter would have to go to the Political Affairs Committee of the Janata Dal and the supporting parties, the BJP and the Left parties. "You need a consensus and if that is not there, how can we proceed."

The Prime Minister also clarified that the proposed national government would have to include the Congress(I). "When I talk of consensus, obviously the Congress is included," he pointed out. When it was pointed out that the demand for a national Government had been made when the National Front [NF] came to power and the proposal was for inclusion of Congress(I) minus Mr Rajiv Gandhi, Mr Singh said, "if Mr Rajiv Gandhi is included, what is wrong with that. Or if V. P. Singh is removed, will there be such a great danger? How does it make a difference. This country is not dependent on any one individual, if you pin the fate of the country to one individual, then you are doing a great wrong to the country."

'Minus or Plus Talk Immaterial'

"I think this talk of minus or plus an individual is immaterial. That is what I want the politics of the country to come out of—the individual trappings that have been set. So if the consensus is based on issues along with the commitment to implement them with a programme, then a person can be there or may not be there, it is not material. The country does not depend on any one person. If Mr V. P. Singh is removed, the heavens will not fall. If the national Government means my removal, I still believe in it. If my removal leads to a national consensus, then I am ready for this cause because it is a bigger cause."

Elaborating on the concept of including Congress(I) without Mr Gandhi, the Prime Minister clarified that it was not his mission in life to chase Mr Gandhi out of every position. Mr Gandhi had been removed from the position from which he should have been removed and it was not the purpose of Mr Singh's life to remove him from every post. "He is the president of the Congress(I) and so long as that party wants him there, it is all right with me."

The Prime Minister dismissed the point that he was supporting the idea of a national Government in view of the external threat to the country. "You have already gone six-seven steps ahead. I have not yet discussed the issue with the Political Affairs Committee of the party, with the supporting parties. Don't think we will have a national Government the moment we land in Delhi," he said amidst laughter.

Asked about the issues on which he was seeking a consensus, the Prime Minister said these were listed in the manifesto of the National Front. In particular, he mentioned the question of labour participation in management, land reforms, autonomy to the media, electoral reforms and other such subjects listed in the manifesto. When it was pointed out that the supporting parties were already with the Government on these issues and therefore the need for a National Government did not seem necessary, the Prime Minister just repeated that he would have to consult his supporting partners. "If there is national consensus you can go ahead faster."

Good for Democracy

Responding to another question that the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Devi Lal had put him on test by saying that the National Front Government would last the full term but the continuance of Mr Singh depended on his performance, the Prime Minister said that it was good that he was under pressure. "Every Prime Minister, every Government should be under pressure. We should avoid a situation of complacency as in the past when individuals thought that there were no alternatives to them. It is good for democracy if the Prime Minister and the Government were under some pressure." When it was pointed out that it was also not good to have frequent changes in Government, Mr Singh suggested that some Governments should be sacrificed if necessary to strengthen democratic norms.

Dwelling on other issues, the Prime Minister said that every possible effort would be made to find out the beneficiaries of the Bofors kickbacks. He declined to discuss the conduct of Governors, particularly in Punjab and Kashmir saying that it was not proper to discuss individuals. Similarly, he declined to talk about the Telecom Commission Chairman, Mr Sam Pitroda, by saying he was not inclined to talk about specific individuals. In a lighter vein he announced that he would expand his Cabinet but insisted that he would not reveal when. About the response from Pakistan on the proposal sent by India, he said a detailed briefing would be held on Wednesday.

CPI-M's Namboodiripad

46001643B Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
7 Jun 90 p 1

[Text] The CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] would have nothing to do with any possible national Government, based on consensus at the Centre, Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad, general secretary of the CPI(M),

said in Calcutta on Wednesday. "We don't agree with it," he observed, while addressing a Press conference at the CPI(M) head office in the city.

Explaining the stand of his party on the suggestions made by the Prime Minister, Mr Namboodiripad said the CPI(M) was not prepared to join any Government unless it was Left inclined. In 1967, his party had turned down offers to join non-Congress(I) Governments in States, such as Bihar, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. In 1977, the CPI(M) had campaigned in favour of the Janata Party but did not join the Government formed by it. Similarly, proposals to join the State Governments in Assam and Maharashtra had been rejected by the party.

Besides, in 1967, the central committee of the CPI(M) had made it clear that it did not favour the idea of a national Government. In any case, the CPI(M) could not take part in any Government in which the Congress(I) was included. For, although the Congress(I) was not a communal party, it had always been making compromises with communal forces. The CPI(M) could talk to individual Congressmen but it could not have any understanding with the party as an organization.

Asked if the CPI(M) was ready to extend support from outside to such a Government, he said the issue was speculative. "I don't think that a national Government will be a reality," he said. "Is the Prime Minister above the law of the land?" he asked.

Mr Namboodiripad thought that Mr V. P. Singh had talked about such a possibility to "make some people see reason." He reiterated that the National Front [NF] Government was the best possible alternative under the present circumstances.

Mr Namboodiripad did not agree that CPI(M) leaders were ambiguous when it comes to explaining the recent setbacks suffered by the Communist movement in East Europe. He said the central committee of the party had already finalized its statement on the subject during its recently concluded meeting in Delhi. But, the statement was too long to be distributed in the form of a communiqué. It would be a booklet which had been sent to the Press for printing.

The draft on the East European question, prepared by the Politburo of the party, had been accepted "by and large" by the central committee, Mr Namboodiripad said. He denied that the delay in the formulation of the statement was because of a substantial revision of the draft placed before the central committee. "Our party is not like the party in the days of Stalin," he said and added that the draft had been prepared after prolonged discussions in different forums of the party. Asked in what ways his party differed from that in Stalin's days, he said it would require a seminar to discuss this subject.

Rajiv Gandhi

46001643C New Delhi THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 8 Jun 90 p 1

[Article by G. V. Krishnan]

[Text] Kancheepuram, 7 Jun—The Congress president, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, today said the country was not faced with a war situation or dire emergency to warrant a national government. Stating that a national government was required only in dire emergency, Mr Gandhi described the prevailing situation as that of "catastrophic failure" on the part of the National Front [NF] government.

Speaking to newsmen here, the Congress president referred to the Centre's failure in Kashmir, Punjab and even in Tamil Nadu. He said induction of arms and open movement of the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] in coastal area marked the beginning of a difficult phase in Tamil Nadu. There was a linkage, involving the Dravida Kazhagam, the DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (Dravidian Progressive Foundation)] and the LTTE. This was a dangerous development about which the National Front government had not done anything.

He said the Punjab situation was one of unique instability where the governor had resigned and there was no new governor. What was happening was failure of the National Front government on all fronts.

Mr Gandhi pointed out that the V. P. Singh government was, in effect, a national government minus the Congress. It was for the National Front and its allies to sort out their problems. The Centre could not accuse the Congress of having let down the National Front. If anything, the Congress had extended its support on all national issues, although the party had not been consulted on all matters.

I don't understand the reason for talking about a national government," said Mr Gandhi.

No Dissension

There was no dissension in the Congress, he said when asked whether the talk of a national government was, indeed, a ploy to create a rift within the Congress.

In response to another question, Mr Gandhi said his party was now tied up with the process of holding organisational elections and developing policy options on important issues. The Congress chief made it clear that his party did not want to be involved in the government at the Centre. "We are happy where we are," he said. When asked would the Congress still remain not interested in forming a government were the NF government to fall, "Yes," said Mr Gandhi, adding that the Congress had "too much of our own work to do to bother about issues pertaining to a national government." However, if there was a need, such as a war or a national emergency, the Congress would review its stand on the national government issue, he said.

The Congress president said the party proposed to hold organisational elections in December and the poll schedule would be finalised on 18 June, when the party working committee was expected to meet in New Delhi.

Other Reaction

46001643D Madras THE HINDU in English
7 Jun 90 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, 6 Jun—A national government, including all the major political parties, is quite a tall order, it is politically not feasible and the Prime Minister could have hardly made this proposal seriously. In any case, Mr V. P. Singh has not yet discussed what he has in mind with the left parties. This was the feeling in the Communist Party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)] and the Communist Party of India, though no formal statement on this subject was issued by both the parties.

Mr Harkishen Singh Surjeet, CPI(M) leader, said quite bluntly that it could not be a serious proposal. "The Prime Minister is reported to have said that a national government could be formed provided there was national consensus. While there can be national consensus on issues relating to national unity how can there be consensus on national political and economic policies?" Mr Surjeet asked. If there was consensus on all major national policies then what would be the reason for different political parties to exist? he asked.

'Not Seriously'

Mr Surjeet said such a proposal was usually made at a time of national emergency or crisis, and that was not the case at present. "It cannot be a serious proposal," he added. Even on the question of Kashmir, a national consensus had not emerged as the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] demanded abrogation of Article 370 which gave special status to Kashmir. The BJP was unleashing propaganda on this, while the position of the CPI(M) and some other parties was quite the opposite.

He stated categorically that the CPI(M) would not join any government unless it felt it would be in a position to influence the policies of such a government. At present this was not the case.

He once again stated that the newspaper article which had started this controversy, was a figment of the writer's imagination, and that he had not met Mr Madhu Limaye for the last two years. "Mr Limaye is a good friend, and in fact I should have seen him as he was ill," he added. The article had suggested that Mr Limaye and Mr Chandra Shekhar had met Mr Surjeet with this idea and then the CPI(M) seriously considered it at its central committee meeting, and then rejected it.

Mr Surjeet added that the CPI(M) position was open and was political. There could be no consensus on all major socio-economic policies, and therefore the question of a national government did not arise. Later, a party spokesman added that the CPI(M) would go to the Press Council with a complaint against the paper.

Tall Order

Mr Indrajit Gupta, general secretary of the CPI, described the idea as a rather "tall order." He said that it was politically not feasible, and that the situation in the country did not warrant the formation of a national government. Mr Gupta added that the Prime Minister had not yet contacted the CPI about this or discussed the idea formally. "Nothing has come up as yet" he said and when asked whether the proposal was serious, said this question should be addressed to Mr V. P. Singh.

BJP Not Committal

It does not appear that the BJP regards the thoughts of the Prime Minister, Mr V. P. Singh, on the theoretical possibility of a national government, with any noticeable degree of seriousness. Mr Kidar Nath Sahni, a party general secretary, said, however, that at this stage he would make no formal comment.

Another BJP general secretary, Mr K. L. Sharma, initially hesitated to say anything, but on insistence from press persons said a particular idea had been floated. It would become worthy of consideration when its progenitor provided more details.

UNI, PTI Report:

'Not Bright Idea'

The Janata Dal leader, Mr Chandra Shekhar, said the idea appeared to be "the brainchild of some intellectuals who think that politics can be manipulated by floating such a proposal." Replying to newsmen's questions in New Delhi he said this was not "a bright idea to be floated casually."

If this was really serious, it would have its repercussions and if it was stated casually, it would die down, Mr Chandra Shekhar said. He expressed surprise that the Prime Minister, Mr V. P. Singh felt obliged to react to such a proposal. This talk of a national government, Mr Chandra Shekhar said, appeared to him as "just a slogan and not even an academic exercise."

CPI(M) Not Agreeable

The CPI(M) general secretary, Mr E. M. S. Namboodiripad, in Calcutta, ruled out any possibility for a national government.

Answering questions from newsmen at a press conference here, Mr Namboodiripad said: "This is his personal view and we (CPI-M) do not agree with it. Nor are we going to join any such government even if it comes into existence."

National Govt Minus BJP Favoured

The Indian Union Muslim League (IUML) was in favour of a national government of all parties, including the Congress(I), except the BJP, the IUML president, Mr Ibrahim Sulaiman Sait, MP [Member of Parliament],

said in Kochi. Asked why the BJP should be excluded, Mr Sait replied the "BJP is a fascist party."

'Personal View'

The Bharatiya Janata Party president, Mr L. K. Advani said in Mangalore today that the Prime Minister Mr V. P. Singh's advocacy of a national government at the Centre was his personal view. However, it was an appropriate response to the present situation.

Mr Advani told newsmen that in fact, the BJP had put forth the proposal of a national government immediately after the general elections. But then, it had not received proper response. Now, the proposal had come from certain quarters which were opposed to the leadership of Mr Singh.

These quarters were unhappy since the 1989 elections and had favoured a political configuration. The Congress(I) had been trying to create trouble after the elections following its defeat, he added.

Congress-I Holds Convention Against Communalism

Gandhi Opening Speech

46001652A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 20 May 90 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, 19 May—Mr Rajiv Gandhi today charged the National Front [NF] government with trying to push the country into a war with Pakistan to hide its own failures and to keep the dissension-ridden Janata Dal intact.

Inaugurating the day-long national convention against communalism of highly enthusiastic party workers and leaders at the overflowing Talkatora indoor stadium, Mr Gandhi questioned the right of the minority government to "trap" India into a war situation.

It would have been a different situation if it was a "coalition government," but this was a minority one, besides being weak enough to allow Pakistan to take the upper hand.

His information about the motive behind the government creating a war hysteria was based on a talk he had with "a very senior cabinet minister" of the V. P. Singh government, Mr Gandhi said.

In the event of a war, the Congress would extend full co-operation to the government, but he wanted it to be understood that "war is not child's play. It is an expensive proposition."

If it was a 10-day war, Mr Gandhi asked, then how many decades would it take India to recover its economy. The liberation of Bangladesh in 1971 had taken India 15 years to get back economically on its own feet.

In a blistering attack on the V. P. Singh Government, the former prime minister challenged the secular credentials

of the NF government and said if it had any sense of shame, it would not have mortgaged itself to the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and other communal, secessionist and fundamentalist forces.

"Hum bhi sauda karke ghus sakte the. Lekin Asoolon ka sauda karke ghumne ko taiyyar nahi hai," he declared. (We too could have struck a deal and got into power. But we are not prepared to bargain over our principles.)

Drawing a parallel between Gen Tikka Khan's moves to alienate the Bengalis in the erstwhile East Pakistan and the NF government's measures to alienate the Kashmiris, Mr Gandhi said it was not necessary to be brave to talk of war repeatedly as was being done now. *"Kaha jata hai ki jo badal garajtey hai woh barastey nahi,"* Mr Gandhi said. (It is said that those clouds which thunder do not rain.) To hide its failures in Kashmir, Punjab, Assam and Tamil Nadu, and on the price front, the government was making such a clamour.

After the release of five terrorists following the kidnapping of the home minister's daughter, the former prime minister said, the Centre brought into operation its plan on Kashmir. The home minister told the J and K PCC chief that he was going to send Mr Jagmohan as governor and would dismiss the Farooq Abdullah government.

He wanted the popular government to be out of office so that his plan could be implemented by the governor, Mr Gandhi said. Today, there was not a single Kashmiri officer in the higher rungs of the state administration because the Centre did not trust the Kashmiri people.

"They are doing everything to alienate the Kashmir people from the rest of India. We had warned this government not to weaken the fight against terrorism. But in Kashmir, instead of fighting terrorism, they are indulging in acts of terrorism against the people. I challenge the government to dispute this," Mr Gandhi said.

Even while Kashmir was burning, he said the Prime Minister had not found the time to go there. "It takes just 50 minutes to go there and 55 minutes to come back," he remarked.

On secularism, Mr Gandhi said it was wrong for the government to think that by encouraging Hindu, Muslim and Sikh fundamentalism, it could sit in the Centre and describe itself as secular.

Resolution and Action Plan

46001652B Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
31 May 90 p 7

[Text] This is the text of the resolution and action plan adopted by the Congress at its convention against communalism on 19 May. We will publish the resolution of the Left-sponsored convention tomorrow.

Four decades after freedom, and the accompanying tragedy of partition, our nation is faced once again with a challenge from within to its secular foundations and its national unity. The challenge is the most serious since our country was vivisected in 1947. It is a challenge to the very destiny of our country.

The evil of communalism has brought our motherland to the edge of a disastrous precipice. We must check this headlong fall towards self-destruction. Otherwise, we will smash into pieces the glorious dream of "unity in diversity" which inspired our independence movement. By non-violent methods, unique in the annals of political struggle, the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi united all our people—of all communities, castes, linguistic, regional and ethnic groups—in liberating our India from the bondage of the British and from the shackles of the feudal elements and other vested interests who gave succour and support to colonial rule. It was a struggle glorified by the blood of our martyrs and the sacrifices of our people in maintaining harmonious relations between people of different religions, regions and linguistic groups. The patriotic zeal of our founding fathers should inspire us to the basic task of defending the unique and glorious heritage of our nationhood.

The present challenge to our secularism and national unity comes from both majority and minority communalism. Majority communalism manifests itself through the fascist concept of a Hindu Rashtra, with the rule of a particular religious community as its ultimate goal and subjugation of the minorities as its immediate priority. Simultaneously, minority communalism has swirled into deadly prominence, forging an unholy alliance between religious fanaticism, terrorism and secession in Kashmir, Punjab and, potentially, in other parts of the country.

Religion is not the only source of sustenance for communalism. Linguistic chauvinism, narrow regionalism and divisive ethnic loyalties constitute an equally potent force for national disintegration, as clearly evidenced by the secessionist objectives avowed by the United Liberation Front of Assam and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam's open flirtation with anti-nationalist forces. Violence is the principal weapon of these enemies of Indian unity, as much as deception is the basis of their strategy and encouragement from vested interests is their strength.

Secularism implies not only a secular state but also a secular society. We need to work towards keeping religion out of politics as also preventing religious fanaticism from wreaking havoc on our social harmony and economic progress. A backward-looking nationalism, of the kind espoused by the Bharatiya Janata Party, RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh], Shiv Sena and Vishwa Hindu Parishad which is based on the exclusive attribution of all that is great in our civilisation to one religion alone, to the exclusion, detriment and degradation of the contribution of the other religions of India, is not a nationalism that can ever take our country forward.

It is secularism alone which can ensure the modernisation of our society. If we fall into the clutches of communalism, all our efforts at development and the removal of poverty and disparities will be jeopardised. A communalised India will never be able to restore our country to its traditional place in the vanguard of the march of humankind. It is the poor who most bear the burden of communalism. It is the poor who have the greatest interest in the spread of secularism. The vested interests, on the other hand, have a vested interest in the perpetuation of communalism. It is these reactionary forces that must be fought with grit and determination. A massive and concerted national effort is called for to bring sanity and compassion into our body politic, to build a caring society, a polity of shared joys and shared sorrows.

The greatest danger is that the communal forces are now parading the country in the guise of patriotism. While pretending to be in the vanguard of the struggle against secession, what they are actually up to is matching sectarianism against sectarianism and communalism against communalism. Nothing is more certain to destroy our country than contending communalisms. We have to save our country from communalism of all kinds—be it majority communalism or minority communalism.

The forces of majority communalism are spreading the pernicious doctrine that measures being taken to protect and promote the interests of the minorities amount to "appeasement." These forces labour under a strange inferiority complex. Their main obsession appears to be with taking their revenge on history, wishing away a thousand years of fruitful interaction between the Islamic faith and the civilisation that had earlier evolved in India, and 2000 years of similar interaction with Christianity. In the Congress view, the minorities of India are not "guests" but honoured and equal citizens, with the right to have their specific religious identities protected, their lives secured and their properties safeguarded.

The nation will be deluding itself if it gets taken in by the surface pretensions of the political forces representing majority communalism. Their moderate language is only a ruse to come to power and then show their true face. Because the Union government at the Centre remains entirely dependent on these forces for political survival, never before has it been so necessary to unmask the true face of communalism. The time is now to mount an offensive against the forces which are spreading the poison of communalism in the name of "positive secularism." All secular forces must come together to prevent any further accretion in the political strength of the communal forces. The Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid controversy is, today, the litmus test of our commitment

to the time-tested principles of secularism. The Congress reiterates its commitment to an amicable settlement of the problem, failing which the verdict of the court must be adhered to in letter and in spirit. The Congress will sternly resist any action which transgresses the jurisdiction of the court or prejudices the verdict it will pass.

To face up to menace of communalism and the threat to our national unity, the Indian National Congress hereby adopts the following Action Programme, to be launched immediately:

- State and district level conventions to mobilise the party and the people for the battle against communalism and secession and the struggle for the preservation of the nation's unity.
- The establishment of a permanent Department of National Integration in the AICC [All India Congress Committee] charged with the following tasks:

1) the elaboration and dissemination of the Congress philosophy of secularism by organising training camps for party workers throughout the country and refresher courses for senior members;

2) the editing and distribution of a party periodical dealing with issues of communalism and secularism, with priority;

3) the organisation of immediate visits by Congress teams to riot-affected localities;

4) in-depth studies of the causes of communal riots with a view to recommending corrective measures.

- The establishment of similar National Integration Cells in Pradesh Congress Committees and District Congress Committees.
- The establishment of Peace Committees at village/mohalla level especially in riot prone areas to face the challenge on the ground, round-the-clock.
- Seva Dal Emergency Squads will be formed to immediately reach the place of communal riot to work for communal harmony and organise relief.
- The mobilisation of intellectuals from all walks of life, such as teachers, lawyers, journalists, artistes and others, to organise campaigns to inculcate in the people at large the values of patriotism, secularism and national unity, as also to educate the people about the growing menace of communalism.
- The building up of a Secular Front, with the cooperation of like-minded political parties and organisations, to isolate reactionary, communal and secessionist forces.

Our tryst with destiny is at stake. The party of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi pledges itself to rise to the challenge.

CPI-M Leader Says No Move To Topple Government Planned

46001663 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
6 Jun 90 p 4

[Text] Calcutta, 5 Jun—The CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] general secretary, Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad, today categorically ruled out any move by his party to topple the National Front government at the Centre.

"It would only be done by either those who want to bring back Mr Rajiv Gandhi to power or who want to create chaos in the country," he said. While addressing the Gangadhar Adhikari memorial lecture organised by the Joshi-Adhikari Institute of Social Studies, at the Calcutta University Centenary Hall today.

He said the Left parties would continue to organise independent campaigns on issues affecting the common people, like the hike in the prices of essential commodities. But this did not mean that they wanted to join hands with the Congress(I) to pull down the government.

Referring to the recent anti-communal convention, Mr Namboodiripad said it was largely an initiative of the Left parties, but a large number of secular minded individuals, belonging to the Janata Dal and the Congress(I) had joined it.

"We do not consider the Congress(I) a communal organisation, but it makes heavy compromises with communal forces with an eye to the Hindu vote. There are a large number of individuals in the party who are conscious of this trend and want to fight it," he said. Congress(I) members were welcome to join Left campaigns on general issues, he said.

Mr Namboodiripad expressed satisfaction over the closer ties between the two communist parties, which had fought each other for years. He said they, along with the RSP [Revolutionary Socialist Party], Forward Bloc and other Left and secular forces had come together to fight the Congress(I) leadership and the divisive forces in the country.

Paying glowing tributes to the Joshi-Adhikari leadership of the CPI [Communist Party of India] for laying the foundation for the "mass revolutionary party of the working class" during the pre-Independence period he said, "I am sure generations of Indian communists and other anti-Imperialists will learn from the life, political activities and theoretical contribution of the two comrades."

He, however, criticised the CPI for adopting the "People's war" line after the Soviet Union joined World War II and its hostile attitude to the Quit India movement, which had led to its isolation from the masses.

Delivering a lecture on "Proletarian Internationalism Today" he observed that there was no need to set up a world centre or coordinating mechanism to keep the communist movement united.

"Every communist and worker's party should be responsible to its own people, with no fraternal party trying to intervene in the internal affairs of the other."

Earlier, Mr A.B. Bardhan, CPI leader, said many changes were taking place in the socialist world and many concepts were being rediscussed.

Report on CPI-M Central Committee 28-31 May Meeting

*46001632 New Delhi PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY
in English 10 Jun 90 pp 1, 4, 11*

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) [CCI(M)] met from 28 to 31 May 1990 at New Delhi. The main decisions and conclusions at the meeting, are given below.

At the outset, the Central Committee adopted condolence resolutions paying homage to B.T. Ranadive and Saroj Mukherjee, members of the Polit Bureau, who passed away recently. It condoled the death of G.S. Randhawa, member of the Central Committee [CC] and other comrades who had died in the past five months. The CC paid special homage to the memory of the comrades who lost their lives in the struggle against separatism and terrorism in Punjab, Kashmir and Tripura, in the past five months.

Positive Measures Welcomed

The Central Committee welcomed some of the steps announced by the National Front Government and the legislation initiated by it in the budget session of Parliament. It welcomed the inclusion by a constitutional amendment of all Land Reform Acts in the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution, and the upgrading of the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes by giving it constitutional status. Proposed legislation such as the Prasar Bharathi Bill, the Lok Pal Bill and electoral reforms, are also steps in the right direction to strengthen the democratic set-up in the country.

A new orientation has been given to Centre-State relations also. The setting up of the Inter-States Council, invoking the Constitutional provision, is an important step which fulfills the longstanding demand for such a forum to give a new content to Centre-State relations. There is a refreshing change in the attitude of the Central Government towards the Left-led Governments which were blatantly discriminated against under Congress(I) rule.

The National Front Government has also sought to involve the mass organisations of different sections of the people, through a series of meeting with their representatives. However, the Government has not shown any awareness of the need to undo the victimisation of

employees in the railways and other public sector units, who became victims of the previous Government's anti-democratic policies. It is necessary that the Government take immediate steps to undo this victimisation, which will help in gaining the confidence of the working class.

Economic Situation

The Central Committee expressed its serious concern at the continuing escalation of prices of all essential commodities, which is a major cause of suffering for the people at present. The Wholesale Price Index of all commodities has registered a continuous increase for the 19th week in succession, and now stands at 173.6 on 12 May. This is an 8.7 percent increase compared to the corresponding period last year. The prices of tea, sugar, edible oils and vegetables have reached a new high in the recent period. All other goods are affected by the spiralling price rise. The prices of cement and other manufactured goods are climbing up.

Curb Price-Rise

The National Front Government's budget provisions, such as the steep increase in the prices of diesel, petrol, and freight fares, and the increase in the issue price of wheat by Rs 3 per quintal, has further fuelled this inflationary trend. The CC is disappointed with the National Front Government's failure to provide effective relief when the Finance Bill was adopted in the Lok Sabha. It demands that the National Front Government abandon the policies which led to the price-rise under the previous Congress (I) Government, and adopt measures which will curb the price-rise and strengthen the public distribution system. It should increase the quota of levy sugar and provide adequate supplies through the public distribution system to combat the open market prices.

The CC welcomed the Left parties observing 16 May as Anti-Price-Rise Day, and called upon all its units to continuously mobilise the people against this price-rise, blackmarketing and hoarding. The pressure of the people must be brought to bear to ensure steps to curb the rise in prices.

Old Policies Being Pursued

The National Front had promised to reverse the policies pursued by the Congress(I), which had landed the country in a serious crisis. It had promised more employment, rural development and relief to the rural poor. But to do so required a break with the old Congress(I) policies. So far there has been no sign of such an orientation. On the other hand, there are disturbing indications from the series of policy measures announced, that the old policies of liberalisation and privatisation are being tenaciously followed.

On the one hand the industries Minister had declared that no sick unit can be taken over. On the other hand, he has promised more relaxations for foreign capital investment, by lowering the FERA [Foreign Exchange Regulations Act] limits. The privatisation drive continues with more concessions to the private sector in the core sector.

This will be detrimental to the public sector. M RTP [Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices] regulations are being relaxed for big business, and there is a renewed talk of selling shares of the public sector to private individuals, an approach echoed in the Eighth Plan Approach paper.

All this shows that the World Bank-IMF pressure continues to operate. The Central Committee warns the National Front that if these policies are not changed, and urgent steps to give relief to the people from price rise and unemployment not worked out, the discontent will grow and the credibility of the Government will be affected.

The difficult economic situation is being sought to be utilised by the United States and other imperialist agencies. The threat of Super 301 and the stringent conditions for IMF loans show how continuous pressure to open India's economy still further to foreign capital is being exercised. It is good that the National Front Government had declared its resolve to resist the Super 301 clause. But vigilance of all patriotic people is required to see that there is no resiling from this position.

Complex Political Situation

The CC noted that the Congress(I), after being decisively rejected in the Lok Sabha and the Assembly elections, is resorting to various manoeuvres to try and destabilise the National Front Government. Especially condemnable is its behaviour in Parliament where it has adopted an obstructionist attitude. This was particularly evident when it tried to hold up the passing of the Constitutional Amendment Bill giving constitutional status to the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The Janata Dal and the National Front Government should overcome its group interests and rivalries to unitedly endeavour to fulfill their promises to the people. The people have given them a mandate to realise their aspirations, which should not be betrayed.

Kashmir

The CPI(M) Central Committee expressed its deep concern at the deterioration of the situation in the Kashmir Valley following the recent murder of Mirwaiz Farooq. Following the firing on the mourners' procession which left many dead, the Central Government had no other option but to recall the Governor, Jagmohan.

The CPI(M) Central Committee urges upon the National Front Government to urgently address itself to the task of restoring peace in the Valley by taking firm administrative measures. These must be combined with giving the Kashmiri people assurances of their identity, and the safeguarding of their interests. In this light, the consistent propaganda of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] for the abrogation of Article 370 of the Constitution is only playing into the hands of the enemies of our nation, and bolstering Pakistan's efforts, which keep the situation

tense. The CPI(M) calls upon the National Front Government to immediately seal the border with Pakistan in order to stop the flow of subversives and arms. The CC criticised Jagmohan's statement after his nomination to the Rajya Sabha, in justifying his role and demanding a judicial enquiry into the events in Kashmir.

Punjab

The CPI(M) Central Committee expressed grave concern at the continued killing of innocent people by the Khalistani extremists in Punjab. With the change in the Governor, the CPI(M) hopes that the Government will adopt a strategy based on three factors that should be simultaneously implemented, which the CPI(M) has been consistently advocating. First, stern administrative measures to curb terrorist violence. Secondly, a political campaign to draw the mass of the people into action against the secessionist elements. Third, a political settlement to be worked out based on the Rajiv-Longowal Accord.

The CPI(M) calls upon the National Front Government to unilaterally take the initiative in implementing the provisions of the Longowal Accord. The CPI(M) and its unit in Punjab which, at the cost of tremendous sacrifices, have been upholding the cause of national unity, reiterates that it is only the united mobilisation of the Sikh and non-Sikh masses against the terrorists that can create conditions for a political solution.

Assam

An unbridled campaign of murder, extortion and loot by the ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam] in Assam, continues to create a situation of terror in some parts of the State. Although a constituent of the National Front, the AGP [Asom Gana Parishad (Assam People's Council)] and its Government in Assam, is finding itself incapable of controlling the situation, with a section of them protecting the ULFA extremists. The subversive activities of the ULFA pose a grave threat not only to the unity of Assam, but for the whole North-Eastern region, with the potential danger of escalation of insurgency activities in Nagaland, Manipur, etc. The CPI(M) calls upon the National Front Government to exert its authority to enable normalcy in the State.

In various parts of our country tribal and ethnic movements are going on. Reactionary forces are attempting to misdirect them on to secessionist lines. The CPI(M), while reiterating its resolve to struggle against such divisive forces, recognises the element of democratic content in these movements. This must be accepted, and a solution must be sought for these movements, by providing these areas with autonomy within the concerned States, wherever necessary.

Ananda Marg Terror

In recent months the Ananda Marg has stepped up its violent activities in Purulia district of West Bengal, where it has its headquarters. This had led to a number

of clashes with the local people who are resisting the Marg's land-grabbing activities. In order to cover up their murderous activities, the Ananda Marg, through a section of the media, is attempting to launch a big campaign accusing the CPI(M) and the West Bengal Government of terrorising their organisation. Such lies have been nailed down by the recent exposure of the Ananda Marg conspiracy to assassinate CPI(M) leaders, when two of their men were arrested by the BSF [Border Security Force] in Amritsar with a consignment of arms smuggled from Pakistan. The Home Minister in the Lok Sabha has warned against the activities and diabolical nature of this pseudo-religious organisation.

The Ananda Marg has targeted Jyoti Basu for attack. The Central Committee calls upon its ranks and the people of the country to be vigilant against the nefarious designs of this organisation, and expose its links with foreign agencies.

Grave Situation

While such secessionist and divisive movements are growing in the country, the communal situation is rapidly deteriorating. The escalation of inflammatory communal propaganda, which is continuously poisoning the minds of the people of our country, threatens the very unity and integrity of India. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad, RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh], Bajrang Dal and the Shiv Sena are continuing their campaign on the issue of construction of the Ramjanmabhoomi temple by demolishing the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya. The BJP continues to support this disruptive move. Fundamentalist forces in the minority communities are also aggravating the situation. The grave implications of this to the unity and integrity of India must be underlined. It was in the background of these developments that the CPI(M) along with the Left parties, and individuals from the Janata Dal and Congress(I), organised the National Convention Against Communalism and Separatism on 24 May 1990 at New Delhi. This successful convention gave a call for a nationwide campaign on the issue of safeguarding our country's unity and integrity.

Tripura

The CC of the CPI(M) congratulates the people of Tripura for the magnificent response to the call for the Jail Bharo action against the anti-people policies of the Congress(I)-TUJS [Tripura Upajati Juba Samiti] Government in Tripura. In an attempt to try and intimidate the people from opposing them in the forthcoming Autonomous District Council Elections in July, the coalition Government is mounting further attacks against the CPI(M) and its cadres. The recent action however has brought into sharp focus the prevailing mass mood in the State which is rising in strong protest against the criminal strong-arm measures of the coalition Government. The Central Committee congratulates the CPI(M) unit in Tripura which, operating under

extremely difficult conditions, has been able to rally the people in defence of democracy and civil liberties in the State.

Ahdra Pradesh

The six months since the Congress(I) returned to power in the State, has been marked by a worsening of the situation on all fronts. The Congress(I) Government has begun undoing whatever little gains the people received from the beneficial policies of the earlier TDP [Trade Development Agency] Government. Many welfare schemes have been withdrawn without introducing a single new scheme. While the burdens of the people have thus increased, the overall law and order situation has further deteriorated. The Congress(I) Government is shamelessly conniving with a section of the Naxalites to browbeat the Opposition. This has led to a virtual collapse of the administration in some districts. The CPI(M), which is being made a special target of such attacks and a victim of the political vendetta of the Congress(I) Government, is taking the initiative in mobilising the people against such a rapid deterioration in their living conditions.

Gorbachev-Bush Summit

The people of the world are looking forward to the ongoing Summit between the USSR and the United States to advance the progress towards further arms reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons. It is heartening to note that both sides have reached a preliminary agreement on the banning of chemical weapons and reducing sea- and air-launched missiles. It is hoped that this Summit will produce a joint statement of understanding that will lead to a strategic arms reduction treaty later this year. It is also hoped that the Summit will ensure that a united Germany will not be part of a military alliance, thus posing a potential threat to security in Europe.

Developments in the Subcontinent

The Central Committee of the CPI(M) hails the heroic victorious struggle of the people of Nepal for the establishment of a multi-party democracy. The struggle, led jointly by the Nepali Congress and the United Left Front, has finally forced the King of Nepal to accept the people's aspirations. The King, however, continues to hold effective power and is attempting to undermine the struggle for democracy. The CPI(M) reiterates its solidarity with the people of Nepal in this continuous struggle.

The CPI(M) hails the ending of the military rule in Burma and the successful holding of the democratic elections.

Developments in Socialist Countries

The Central Committee adopted a report on the developments in socialist countries, particularly the recent events in Eastern Europe, and the internal developments

in the Soviet Union. This report will be released shortly for reporting to the entire Party.

Mobilise the People

In the coming period the CPI(M) places the utmost importance on strengthening Left unity. Through this, wider united mobilisation and actions of the working people can be ensured. The CC calls upon its units to step up the independent mobilisation of the people on their urgent demands concerning price-rise, unemployment and other economic problems.

The CC, taking stock of the grim challenges posed to national unity by the forces of communalism and separatism decided to give a call for a week-long campaign to be observed from 9 to 15 July in defence of communal harmony, secularism and national unity. The dangers posed by the separatist forces in Punjab, Kashmir and Assam, and the Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute, will have to be taken to the people in a big way.

The CC also endorsed the resolution adopted by the Polit Bureau in April, calling for the observance of Ho Chi Minh's birth centenary year. All units should utilise these centenary celebrations to propagate the validity of Marxism-Leninism, and the struggle against imperialism which was exemplified by the life and work of Ho Chi Minh.

CPI-M Charges 'Indian Express' With 'Distortion'

46001638 New Delhi THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 9 Jun 90 p 18

[Text] New Delhi, 8 Jun—The CPM [Marxist Communist Party] has filed a complaint with the Press Council, charging the INDIAN EXPRESS editor, Mr Arun Shourie, with distortion and lies in his write-up, "Open War," published on the front-page of his paper on 1 June. Mr Shourie had given details of what he called an alleged conspiracy involving the CPM, the Congress and Janata Dal dissidents to topple the National Front government.

The complaint is significant because it is the first time that a political party has decided to haul up a newspaper editor. It has assumed added importance because the Prime Minister, Mr V. P. Singh, started talking of a national government a week after Mr Shourie's article.

According to the article Mr Chandra Shekhar and Mr Madhu Limaye had approached the CPM leader, Mr Harkishen Singh Surjeet, with the offer of making Mr Jyoti Basu the new Prime Minister with the support of Left parties, the Congress and Janata Dal dissidents. The story alleged that the proposal fell through because of its outright rejection by Mr Basu himself and the CPM politbureau members mainly because of their antipathy to sharing power with the Congress.

All the persons mentioned in the report called it a "cock and bull" story invented with the sole objective of sowing seeds [of] dissension in the Janata Dal ranks.

CPI-M Releases Paper on East Europe Developments

Contents Summarized

46001628A Calcutta THE TELEGRAM in English 14 Jun 90 1p 4

[Article by Manini Chatterjee: "E. Europe Major Setback for Socialism: CPM"]

[Text] New Delhi, June 13: In a carefully worded, extensive and detailed report on the developments in socialist countries, the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] has described the events in Eastern Europe as a "major reverse" for the forces of world socialism and sharply criticised the Soviet Union's attempts at making a "basic departure" from the ideology of Marxism-Leninism.

The 33-page voluminous document which was released to the Press yesterday is, however, also critical of the "major distortions" in the building of socialism in countries of Eastern Europe as well as the failure to actually implement the Leninist concept of "democratic centralism" in the functioning of Communist parties including the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union].

In a scathing criticism of the running of socialist states, the report states: "The concept of proletarian dictatorship was reduced to the dictatorship of the party and this at times to the dictatorship of the leading coterie of the party. This resulted in the growth of bureaucratism and in the violation of civil liberties and democratic rights.

"There were distortions in the implementation of the principle of democratic centralism within the party. Instead of drawing larger and larger sections of the people and ensuring their participation in the spheres of social and political activity, these distortions resulted in violations of socialist legality and restrictions on individual freedom, which contributed to the alienation of large sections of the people from the party and the state."

It went on to state: "The failure to draw proper lessons and affect correct changes in time, combined with neglect of ideological work created conditions whereby anti-socialist forces exploited this discontent and succeeded in posing bourgeois democracy and capitalism as better alternatives to socialist democracy and socialism."

These major criticisms notwithstanding, the overall tenor of the report is to uphold the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism and an attack on the CPSU and other communist parties in the erstwhile socialist states for having given up these tenets or distorted them to the extent that socialism was being undermined, capitalism was being restored and the forces of imperialism were being allowed an upper hand.

Taking a hardline position, the report rejects the new thinking in the Soviet Union as evident from the "draft

platform" of the CPSU and instead upholds the continuing relevance of basic Leninist concepts such as the vanguard role of the party, the proletarian class character of the state, the need for central planning and the need to constantly battle against the forces of imperialism and capitalism.

On the CPSU draft platform's comment that "there was no room for dictatorship by any class," the CPI(M) notes: "Giving up the class nature of the state means giving up revolution itself." It adds, "It is misleadingly portrayed as if the dictatorship of the proletariat under socialism represents dictatorship of the working class over other sections of the people. Whereas, the proletarian state power is meant to represent the overwhelming majority of the people against the class enemies both internal and external."

Capitalism intensifying exploitation: Rejecting the Gorbachev thesis that the contradictions between socialism and capitalism were being modified, the document gives details to prove that the exploitative nature of capitalism had instead increased and the central contradiction between imperialism and socialism has intensified in the past two decades. It also asserts that despite setbacks, the process started by the October Revolution "of a historically determined, worldwide transition is irreversible."

At the same time, the report "self critically" accepts "two major errors" made by the international Communist movement over the "major errors" made by the international communist movement over the years. First, the underestimation of the capacity of world capitalism to adapt to new conditions and evolve newer methods of neo-colonial exploitation for its advance. This was coupled with an overestimation of the international revolutionary situation."

The second error was the "underestimation of revisionist and dogmatic deviations which led to tactics that adversely affected the strength of the international working class movement and blunted the edge of class struggle through the predominance of economism."

'Breathtaking Dogmatism'

46001628B Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 14 Jun 90 p 10

[Text] The dogmatism of the CPM [Marxist Communist Party] is truly breath-taking. Even its assessment of the developments in the Soviet Union is couched in jargon which in most parts of the world provokes loud jeers today. That is not surprising. The evolution of the party's theory got stuck a long time ago in Stalinist simplifications. Indeed, its record in respect of inner-party democracy and self-criticism shows that it has failed to promote the democratic component of democratic centralism which it claims to uphold. What is surprising however is that even the CPM's active and significant participation in India's democratic polity, as well as its contribution towards shaping a social-democratic political economy, should have had such

little impact on the party's ancient mariners who are charting its analytical and theoretical course. By and large the CPM's apprehensions about Soviet developments appear to be well-founded but the party's reasons for arriving at its conclusions are wrong.

The CPM has concluded that the present disarray in the Soviet Union is largely on account of disaffection stemming from misconceived *glasnost*. The party refuses to acknowledge the fundamental falacies in the Soviet system, and still seeks alibis for its Stalinist mentors. Nevertheless, the fact is that the Soviet Union does stand at a crossroads of choice between taking the road to private consumerist capitalism which is dehumanising and that of continuing with a repressive and inefficient state-controlled economy. Both options would mean diluting the positive aspects of the internationalism of the Soviet Union, such as its fraternal stance towards the Third World. In addition, the Soviet crisis also raises the danger of stoking both Islamic fundamentalism and Russian Christian orthodoxy. The centrifugal forces stirring up the constituent nationalities of the world's largest state and the dire condition of its civilian economy, even as its military power remains formidable in spite of recent cuts, raise the possibility of the emergence of self-centred militant ethnic groups on the one side and a non-ideological military-bureaucratic complex on the other. Mr Gorbachov's *glasnost* has revealed the skeletons in the Soviet cupboards while his *perestroika* has still not started producing the goodies that consumerist urges have led the Soviet citizens to expect. The solution to the problems of reinvigorating socialism through the exercise of democracy and creating a viable internationalist social democracy are not easy. In any event the CPM's prescription of putting the *djinn* of *glasnost* back into the bottle of Stalinism is absurd.

Janata Dal Delegation Led by Hegde Visits Beijing

46001646 Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
11 Jun 90 p 1

[Text] Beijing, 10 Jun—A high-level delegation of the Janata Dal headed by the vice-chairman of the Planning Commission and part vice-president, Mr Ramakrishna Hegde, left Beijing today after a seven-day visit to China during which it established "cordial and friendly" relations with the Communist Party of China [CPC], reports PTI.

Mr Hegde said that the CPC general secretary, Mr Jiang Zemin, had accepted an invitation to send a similar delegation of the Chinese Communist Party to India this year.

Mr Hegde said Mr Jiang had asked to convey greetings and good wishes of the Chinese leadership to Mr V. P. Singh.

When the delegation called on the CPC general secretary, Mr Jiang Zemin on 7 June, he expressed happiness over the establishment of relations between the Chinese and

Indian ruling parties and appreciated the Indian Government's "positive attitude towards further improvement of Sino-Indian relations."

He particularly noted that "Prime Minister V. P. Singh has stated many times that Indian-Chinese relations should be further developed. We appreciate his attitude."

Noting that development of friendly relations between India and China was of "great significance to Asia's stability and prosperity, as well as to world peace," he said China "sincerely hopes to further develop good neighbourly relations" on the basis of the five principles.

Earlier, on 6 June, the standing committee member, Mr Qiao Shi, had declared that his party was keen to set up relations with the Janata Dal.

He described the visit as "an important event in the relations between the CPC and the Janata Dal, and between China and India."

Delhi Asked To Shift National Test Range From Baliapal

*46001627 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 19 Jun 90 p 9*

[Text] Bhubaneswar, June 18. In a significant development, the Orissa chief minister, Mr Biju Patnaik, is understood to have written to the Union minister of state for defence, Dr Raja Ramanna, asking him to shift the proposed National Test Range (NTR) out of Baliapal.

According to reliable sources, Mr Patnaik has categorically told the Union minister that the Orissa government does not want the test range at Baliapal. The chief minister is said to have written the letter on June 7 after the state legislative assembly expressed concern about the Union government's apparent intention to go ahead with the NTR project, despite the total opposition of the local people.

Several MLAs had sought the government's clarification on the reported statement made by Dr Ramanna recently that a sum of Rs five crores had been made in this year's Union budget for some rehabilitation schemes in Baliapal. In his reply to a calling attention notice, Mr Patnaik told the assembly that he stood by his earlier commitment to see that no test range was ever set up at Baliapal. He said that his government had no information about any project there.

The Baliapal issue has been hotting up in the last couple of weeks with resentment building up among the villagers of Baliapal against the failure of the National Front government to announce the shifting of the NTR from the most fertile stretch of land on Orissa's coast.

The silence of some of the Front leaders who had wholeheartedly supported the agitation against the test range when they were in the opposition has come in for

sharp criticism from the villagers of Baliapal. Even Janata Dal leaders, particularly those from Balasore district, who had won the parliamentary and the assembly elections on the basis of their commitment to the movement against the proposed NTR, are upset over the ambiguous stand of the Central government.

Most of the leaders feel that the NTR project should be taken out of Orissa altogether. However, there are some who say that the Interim Test Range (ITR) at Chandipur, from where the 'Agni' missile was launched, could be developed as the NTR after the acquisition of some uninhabited land.

But everybody is unanimous about the fact that the project should be moved out of Baliapal.

Substitute Found for Chemical Involved in Bhopal Case

*46001667A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 8 Jun 90 p 3*

[Text] Pune, June 7—In an important breakthrough, the National Chemical Laboratories (NCL) here, has developed an alternative to the deadly methyl iso-cyanide (MIC) whose leakage had led to the Bhopal gas tragedy, the NCL director, Dr R. A. Mashelkar, said here on Tuesday.

Announcing this on the occasion of World Environment Day, Mr Mashelkar said the Bhopal-based Union Carbide was using MIC chiefly for the production of carbaryl—an important ingredient in cotton pesticides. It was after the gas tragedy that NCL scientists began working on an alternative to MIC and have now succeeded in eliminating its use in the production of carbaryl.

He said NCL scientists, Mr R. B. Choudary and Mr S. Rajappa had developed a unique process of global significance using oxygen and carbon mono-oxide for the manufacture of carbaryl. This process, termed as the oxy-carbonylation process, could now provide an effective alternative to both MIC and phosgene.

Dr Mashelkar said a Bombay-based company—Execel—had set up a pilot plant using the alternative method for the production of carbaryl.

He observed that chemical industries the world over had become responsive to their role in curbing pollution and ensuring a safe society. However, the real change would occur only when each individual pledged to preserve the environment and did his bit to ensure that it was not harmed.

A major paradox existed in the fact that modern society could not do without deadly chemicals and processes which were required for manufacturing synthetic fibres, plastics, life-saving drugs, pesticides and fertilisers.

However, scientists were trying to reduce the danger from these chemicals. Dr Mashelkar cited the case of

hydrocyanic acid of which "one drop can kill a person" and which, at the same time was crucial for the manufacture of pesticides, acrylic fibres, gold extraction and leather processing.

Society could not do without these chemicals to meet the needs of the future, Dr Mashelkar said pointing out that by the next century, the country would be producing 1.5 million tonnes of polyester fibre and would require 250 million tonnes of food for which Rs 10,000 crores worth of fertilisers would have to be produced. This could not be achieved without the use of a wide range of chemicals, he said.

Admiral Launches New Indigenous Missile Ship

Launching Ceremony

46001641A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 8 Jun 90 p 5

[Text] Bombay, 7 Jun—With 20 frigates and destroyers, the size of the navy's fleet is inadequate, though modern, the governor of Maharashtra, Mr C. Subramaniam, noted, while commissioning the "INS Kuthar," the country's second missile corvette, at the Naval dockyard here today.

Pointing out that this was just five more than at the time of Independence, the former defense minister regretted that in recent years the expansion of the navy had been confined to the replacement of old outdated ships and machinery.

Apart from the sea-bed mining activities and offshore oil drilling platforms that an alert navy must protect it must guard the coastline, he felt. He said through the ages invaders by land had been assimilated into the populace, while invaders by sea had stayed on to rule.

Linking the country's economic development and international stature with the strength of the navy, he lauded the degree of indigenisation of the weapons systems that have been incorporated into the "INS Kuthar."

While this was a measure of the self-reliance the country has attained in the field of technology, he suggested that these developments must not take place in isolation, but respond to and incorporate foreign ideas as well.

"The bringing into service of a new ship warms the cockles of every naval heart," Vice-Admiral S. Jain said, exulting that the "INS Kuthar" would "add to the navy's punch in no small measure."

In view of the tension on the borders, he said, the country's dockyards must gear up to manufacture modern warships faster than ever before, to enable the navy to efficiently defend India's maritime interests.

The chairman and managing director of Mazagon Dock Ltd, Rear-Admiral M. M. Puri, noted that there had been no cost or time overruns during the building of the

"INS Kuthar." A 10 per cent improvement in manpower utilisation had helped achieve this, he said.

With the completion of the "Kuthar," he added, the corvette construction programme at Mazagon Dock had come to an end, and it would continue at the Garden Reach Shipbuilders and Engineers, in Calcutta.

Later, the pennants were broken out and the governor presented an Arjun rath to the officers and men of the ship, with the injunction to them to follow the Bhagvad Gita, a book for warriors "on the land, on the sea, and in the air."

In turn he was presented with the crest of the "INS Kuthar," an axe upon a ground of waves.

Details of Ship

46001641B Madras *THE HINDU* in English
7 Jun 90 p 11

[Text] Bombay, 6 Jun (PTI)—"INS Kuthar," the second missile Corvette class warship, which has been built by the Mazagon Docks Limited (MDL) here at a cost of Rs 90 crores, is being inducted into the navy tomorrow.

The ship, displacing 1,300 tonnes, is equipped with surface-to-surface and surface-to-air missiles and anti-aircraft guns, and also has a radar known as "positive E" which can spot low flying targets at long range from the ship.

"INS Kuthar," the second indigenously built ship at MDL, will be commissioned tomorrow at a special ceremony at Destroyer's Wharf in the naval dockyard by the Maharashtra Governor, Mr C. Subramaniam.

"Kuthar" will have a crew of eight officers and 74 sailors and it will be part of the western fleet on commissioning. Last August the first Corvette class type, "INS Khukri," was commissioned.

Rear Admiral Inderjit Bedi, Flag Officer Commanding Western Fleet, briefing the press, said that of the eight ships of Corvette class planned for construction the induction of "INS Kuthar" was the second. Two more ships were under construction in the Mazagon docks and the remaining would be built in Garden Reach shipbuilding yard in Calcutta.

The navy has taken a lead in working closely with the public sector and private industries for increasing the indigenous content, specially in ship-building, he said.

The "INS Khukri," which has just gone to Malaysia on a goodwill mission and even taken part in the Malaysian Royal Navy review, had rendered assistance during the cyclone which played havoc over the east coast last month, he said.

Alleged Terrorist Named as Akal Takht Chief

*46001634 New Delhi THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 10 Jun 90 p 1*

[Text] Chandigarh, 9 Jun—In a surprise decision, the SGPC Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (Kikh Temple Management Committee)] today accepted the resignation of the Akal Takht Jathedar, Mr Darshan Singh Ragi, and appointed in his place Mr Ranjeet Singh, who is currently detained since 1980 at Tihar Jail in New Delhi for his alleged involvement in the murder case of Nirankari Baba Gurbachan Singh.

A decision to this effect was taken at a meeting of the SGPC executive committee, which met in the hospital room of the SGPC president, Mr Gurcharan Singh Tohra, at the Mohan Dai Oswal Memorial Hospital in Ludhiana where the latter is currently convalescing after injuries suffered in an assassination attempt on him.

In another significant decision, the executive committee also authorised Mr Tohra to appoint an acting Jathedar of the Akal Takht pending Mr Ranjeet Singh's release from jail.

Appeasement Bid

Political observers here are interpreting the SGPC's decision to appoint an alleged terrorist to this coveted clerical post as a bid to appease the militant organisations. In the last three years the SGPC has been specifically singled out by the terrorists groups, and about half-a-dozen senior SGPC functionaries have fallen to the extremists bullets. The most recent incident was the assassination attempt on Mr Tohra which the latter had providentially survived.

Observers are also interpreting this change of guard at the highest temporal seat of the Sikhs as a bid to outdo the Akali Dal (Mann), who along with certain factions of the AISSF [All India Sikh Students' Federation] recognise Mr Jasbir Singh Rode, a nephew of Bhindranwale as the Akal Takht chief.

In a state where the index of qualification for crucial posts in Sikh religious and political organisations has come to be associated with hardline postures and killings, Mr Ranjeet Singh's 'qualifications' almost certainly outdo Mr Rode's.

A more immediate benefit that Mr Tohra seeks to derive by this change of guard is on winning the Delhi Gurdwara Managing Committee (DGMC) election slated for 12 June at New Delhi. Mr Darshan Singh Ragi, who resigned on 29 March after criticising Mr Tohra for allegedly heaping insult and ridicule on both the Akal Takht as well as his post, is considered to have a strong lobby in the DGMC, which may have posed a threat for Mr Tohra's candidates.

Resignation Accepted

The meeting, meanwhile, also accepted the resignation of the Akal Takht head Granthi, Mr Kewal Singh, and appointed in his place Mr Bhagwan Singh, formerly a Granthi.

Although the SGPC secretary, Mr Manjit Singh Calcutta, claimed that the executive committee meeting had unanimously accepted Mr Darshan Singh Ragi's resignation, Mr Thakur Singh Khumanon, one of the executive members disputed Mr Calcutta's claim and said that he voiced his dissent and urged the meeting that Mr Darshan Singh Ragi be asked if he still persisted on his resignation. Mr Calcutta said that 14 of the 15 executive members had been present at today's meeting at Ludhiana.

Agencies add: Meanwhile, Mr Darshan Singh Ragi today said he was "happy and satisfied" over the Committee's acceptance of his resignation from the post of Akal Takht Jathedar.

Mr Darshan Singh Ragi said the status had no attraction for him and he did not want to cling to it.

Uphold Sanctity

"I tendered my resignation to uphold the sanctity of the Guru Granth Sahib and to keep the status of the Sikh scriptures above politics," he added.

Mr Singh had resigned from the post on 28 March following a clash among the SGPC members during the Committee's budget session, held in the Golden Temple complex.

Paper Reports Changes in Madhya Pradesh Cabinet

*46001635 New Delhi THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 10 Jun 90 pp 1, 20*

[Excerpt] Bhopal, 9 Jun—The three-month-old Patwa ministry was expanded today with the induction of three cabinet ministers and 10 ministers of state. The Madhya Pradesh governor, Kunwar Mahmood Ali, administered the oath of office and secrecy to all the 13 new incumbents.

With this the strength of the Patwa ministry has become 40. Portfolios are expected to be allocated to the newly-appointed ministers tomorrow. The three cabinet ministers sworn in today are Mr Bherulal Patidar (Indore), Mr Babulal Jain (Ujjain) and Mr Munshilal (Morena).

The ministers of state are Mr Agan Singh Thakur (Bastar), Dr Gaurishankar Shejwar (Raisen), Chaudhary Chandrabhan Singh (Chhindwara), Mr Jayant Malayya (Damoh), Mr Prem Prakash Pandey (Durg), Mr Brijmohan Agarwal (Raipur), Mr Brajendra Patha (Satna), Dr Bhanwar Singh Porte and Mr Moolchand Khandelwal (both Bilaspur) and Mr Shiv Pratap Singh (Sarguja). [passage omitted]

'Sources' Predict Punjab Polls Before November

*46001633 New Delhi PATRIOT
in English 10 Jun 90 p 1*

[Text] President's rule in Punjab is not likely to be extended beyond its current tenure up to November 1990.

Authoritative sources in New Delhi on Saturday, said the long-delayed Assembly elections in the troubled border State would, "in all probability," be held before the November deadline.

Sources added that the Centre is, however, "equally keen" to create a conducive atmosphere for holding the elections. The present high level of terrorist activity in Punjab is a disturbing factor in calculating the timing and other aspects of the elections.

The replacement of Mr Nirmal Kumar Mukarji by Mr Virendra Verma as the Governor of Punjab was also being ascribed to the Centre's intention to go ahead with the restoration of democratic process along with tightening of administrative measures to combat terrorist violence. While Mr Verma is expected to mainly devote himself to exploring the political path, the law and order part of the job will be entrusted to professional experts with the Governor acting as the highest co-ordinating agency.

Recent appointment of Mr Surjit Singh Barnala as the Tamilnadu Governor and subsequent focus on Mr Parkash Singh Badal provides an indication of the possible line-up in Punjab before the elections. Mr Barnala had relinquished the leadership of Akali Dal (Longowal) on the plea that this would facilitate unity amongst the rival factions of the Dal.

Although the Centre has not yet finally written off Mr Simranjit Singh Mann, his inconsistent political behaviour has put a question mark over the initial wisdom in putting all eggs into his basket.

President's rule in Punjab, extended for six months on 11 May, is due to end in November. The Parliament too had sanctioned it only for that period. With the National Front Government apparently keen to have an early Assembly poll, further extension of the Preisident's rule is almost out of the question.

The only imponderable aspect is whether the State administration will be able to check the alarmingly sport in terrorism by the time the electoral process is scheduled to get underway.

IRAN

Export Goods To Be Displayed in International Exhibits

90AS0168A Tehran ABRAR in Persian 13 Jun 90 p 3

[Text] Non-oil export goods of Iran will be put on display at five international and special exhibits.

Hashemi, deputy commerce minister and general director of the Export Promotion Center of Iran, who was travelling in Mashhad, yesterday while making the above statement, further added: The Export Promotion Center of Iran by the end of the current year, in addition to displaying non-oil export goods in Japan, Pakistan, and the capital city of Dushanbe in the Soviet Union, will also take part in the international exhibit of Taipei in the People's Republic of China [Taiwan] and that of Malaysia.

He went on to say: The International Exhibit of Electronic Equipment and Computers, with the participation of 43 manufacturing and producing companies throughout the world, will be inaugurated on Saturday, 16 June and will continue for a five day period at the permanent International Fair Grounds of Tehran.

He also added: In order to support the exporters, the Non-oil Export Goods Fund Guarantee will be reactivated in Tehran, and in case exporters suffer some loss in this area of export they will be reimbursed through the aforesaid fund.

In conclusion, he announced the readiness of the Export Promotion Center of Iran for the creation of exhibits of export goods in various cities and said: This center is ready to put its expertise at the disposal of the interested organs and other related firms for the purpose of creating similar exhibitions.

BBC on Bazargan and Businessmen in Iran

*90AS0181D Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI
in Persian 21 Jun 90 p 3*

[Text] The lengthy new struggle regarding observance of proper dress for women and the arrest of some political leaders close to Mehdi Bazargan which took place last week, has caused some concern and mistrust among the businessmen. Whether it is right or wrong, the situation has created a feeling for them that the existing political atmosphere is not amenable to long-term investment and planning at all. The success of any plan, and the stability of the foreign exchange market all depend on the level of trust and security among the people as a whole.

This was the statement which was broadcast by BBC one night during the current week. There is no need for an explanation as to why the planning systems of the British court decide to broadcast such a statement from the BBC. For several decades now the old imperialism of the

British have been using the same radio tactics for inculcating its own line of thought, and it is through this medium that it relays its idea to the people of the world wherever it deems fit and necessary as circumstances allow, and thereafter awaits the results. It is about 12 years now that this radio system has used the same method with regard to the Islamic Republic and it is through this medium that it gets in contact with the followers of imperialism in Iran. Therefore, what you just read above is nothing new at all, but since it contains a subtle point we decided to open it to discussion.

The subtle point is that we have been saying all these years that there is a direct relationship and an indomitable link between the domestic line of investment and the liberals, and every time we produced the implicative reasons and stated that the connection between the two existed abroad. However, this time the principal source of contention has presented itself in its entirety and thus relieved us of further reasoning. When BBC comes out and admits the link between Bazargan and the businessmen, what else remains to be said?

Indeed it is a strange world. They themselves dictate the letter and call to write about a state of mistrust for investment and thereafter they beat their chests and cause a hue and cry that the arrest of these individuals could endanger the security for investment.

Glory to God!

We don't expect anything else from BBC or the Voice of America. The surprising thing is why do some individuals become a toy in their hands and not see the clear realities. With eyes and ears open, I wonder the sleight of hand of God!

Iran Wants Greater Farming, Manufacturing Ties

90AF0776Z Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA*
in English 29 Jun 90 p 4

[Text] Prime Minister General Malimba Masheke has hailed Iran for its advancement in agriculture despite limited water resources in that country.

The Prime Minister was speaking in Lusaka yesterday when an Iranian delegation led by deputy minister of industry, Mr Ahmadi called on him.

The delegation is in the country to assess the help which Zambians might need from Iran to enhance economic cooperation between the two countries.

Cde Masheke, who visited Iran last year, said he was impressed to see that Iran had done a lot to produce all the required foodstuffs using simple methods of irrigation. He would like the technology to be shared by Zambia.

Cde Masheke said Zambia had an ambitious economic recovery programme which, if not disturbed, would meet the requirements of the people.

Later at a separate meeting Iranians called for increased cooperation between the two countries in the manufacturing and agricultural sectors.

Mr Ahmadi said the cooperation in the manufacturing sector would encourage investment opportunities from his country.

He called for industrial study tours by businessmen to bring in equipment from Iran that will improve efficiency and the quality of products.

It was easy for his country to invest in the soap and chemical industry because Iran had come a long way in the oil industry.

Mr Ahmadi commended Zambia for its efforts through the small scale industries to break through the international market using local resources.

He told the Manufacturers Association of Zambia (MAZ) to present the Iranian Ministry of Industries with a list of its members and their speciality to help Iranian manufacturers gauge potential investment.

MAZ chairman Mr Dev Babbar said he was confident that the Zambian business community would pull through despite economic constraints it was experiencing.—BRR/ZANA

75,000 Telephones To Be Installed in Mazandaran

90AS0168B Tehran *RESALAT* in Persian 13 Jun 90
p 10

[Text] Babol—RESALAT correspondent:

Following the five-year plan goals of the Islamic Republic of Iran, through the State Communications Branch in the Province of Mazandaran, 75,000 telephones will be designated to various localities of that province. At the same time, about 450 villages will be receiving communication offices as well.

The above statement was made by Engineer Fuladi, general director of the Mazandaran Province Communications Department in a special interview with the RESALAT correspondent in Babol.

First, he pointed out the role and position of the International Communications Union and said: At present this union has 124 member countries and cooperates with the Islamic Republic of Iran in the area of communication satellites.

Thereafter he spoke about the government plans for a five-year period and stated: The State Communications Department of Mazandaran will assign 75,000 telephones to the applicants during the said period and also will create communication offices in 450 rural areas. He went on to say: We intend to enhance the intercity communication capabilities of the Gonbad-e Kavus, Sari, Amol, and Chalus centers along with that of the first district of Babol's intercity communication system, so that these cities can, during the five-year plan become

the main centers of communication and take on the services of their adjoining cities as well.

He pointed out the change in the area code for the Province of Mazandaran and said: In future, after changing the area code of Mazandaran, its load of communication will decrease appreciably and through new communication centers which employ more modern equipment which makes it possible to increase the number of intercity channels, a larger area can be covered by the system.

Furthermore, he spoke about the completion of the new building which will house the Headquarters of the Communications for the Province of Mazandaran in Babol, and stated: Because of vast communication operations in Babol, the aforementioned department had various buildings throughout the city at its disposal; however, right now all the administrative, technical, and financial personnel are going to work under one roof. He further added: The new building is a three-story office building, each floor with 4,000 square meters of space, all containing 120 offices plus other amenities and various size audience halls. The phase one construction of this building has already been completed. The preliminary cost for construction was 400 million rials, but with regard to the prevalent inflation the final completion has cost 600 million rials. At any rate, right now some of the personnel are in the process of transferring to this new main office building.

Engineer Fuladi also discussed the new activities of the communication system in the Province of Mazandaran and the communication activities of the pre-revolution era and said:

Before the revolution, namely until 1357 [21 March 1978-20 March 1979] only 28 villages had communication offices while this figure in the year 1368 [21 March 1989-20 March 1990] reached 240. Also the number of designated telephones before the advent of the revolution stood at 53,500, while after the revolution this figure has reached 125,000. This figure shows a growth rate of 150 percent.

Thereafter, Engineer Fuladi in answer to the question by the RESALAT correspondent who asked: What is the status of telephone bills distribution with regard to the improper zip-code and/or lack of adequate address, said: As a result of a lack of proper zip-code or insufficient mailing address information and quick name changes of many streets and avenues, at the beginning we were faced with certain problems. However, with the cooperation of the employees of the Mazandaran Post Office, this difficulty has been overcome. Right now, the situation of the telephone bills' distribution is gradually

becoming quite satisfactory and soon our telephone company customers will have no excuse for complaint or non-payment of a bill.

Engineer Fuladi went on to discuss the programs of his office which are under study for 1369 [21 March 1990-20 March 1991] and stated: Our programs have been pre-approved and we are going ahead according to the schedule as follows:

- Installation of 9,000 telephones throughout the Province of Mazandaran.
- Installation of 20,000 telephones through self-help and familiarization.
- Opening of 108 communication offices, plus completion of the microwave line system in the northern area of the country.
- Provision and installation of car telephones, where Mazandaran will become the pioneer of this product throughout Iran.

Thereafter, in answer to the question: What are the problems with regard to the intercity telephone systems, he said: Of course, with the changes which have been created in the Mazandaran communication systems, for a period of two months now the intercity connections have become much easier and for this reason two FX lines (direct dial call without a need for dialing the Tehran area code) and in Gorgan one experimental line has been installed which has received wide acceptance, and in the future we intend to give each and every city an FX line.

At this point he mentioned about the expectation of his office from the telephone subscribers, and said: Our expectations are such that will benefit the subscribers. One thing which should be noted here is the fact that they should not use an electric outlet instead of the telephone outlet and at the same time the owners of telephones should not use their phones unjustifiably. Here we are also warning those individuals who make crank calls and pester other people. In case of complaint from our subscribers, these bothersome individuals better become aware of the consequences of their own actions. He further asked the people to safeguard the telephone equipment which are in reality the property of the general public itself and asked the people to desist from vandalizing the public telephones or stop stealing and damaging such public use equipment. Since in the long run it will be the general public who will have to pay for all these vandalism. We in the Islamic Republic should not witness such abhorrent scenes and improper behaviors.

At the end of his interview with RESALAT, Engineer Fuladi said: My office is always ready to receive good suggestions from the people and that at all times my office has had a good relation with the responsible religious and political officials and will always look forward to receiving their constructive guidance.

PAKISTAN

Article Analyzes Gates Mission, New U.S. Role in South Asia

46000146A Lahore THE NATION in English
24 Jun 90 p 6

[Article by Mushahid Hussain: "Why India Blinked First?"]

[Text] In a major turn-around of its oft-repeated position on Kashmir, India has accepted the Pakistani proposal for talks between the Foreign Secretaries of the two countries. Earlier, India had turned down this Pakistani proposal, which was mooted on 5 June, in response to the 28 May moves of India. Those proposals, in turn, came as a follow-up to the South Asia mission of Robert Gates, deputy national security advisor to President George Bush.

It is clear that India has backed down from its earlier position since it had consistently even refused to talk to Pakistan concerning the Kashmir issue. And in the same context, India had been turning down various suggestions mooted by Pakistan. What has brought about this Indian change of heart? Why did India blink first in this eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation with Pakistan? The carefully-tutored Indian press (when it comes to foreign policy, particularly Pakistan) had already prepared the ground for this change in two identical articles published on the same day in the two major national dailies of New Delhi. Both articles appeared on 13 June in *THE TIMES OF INDIA* and *THE HINDUSTAN TIMES* written by K. Subrahmanyam and H.K. Dua respectively. Both articles ruled out the possibility of war citing bilateral diplomatic moves as well as an international climate conducive more to peace than to war. These comments have come after India itself was the first to invoke the threat of war when Prime Minister V.P. Singh told Parliament on 10 April that the Indian people should be "psychologically prepared for war."

Some clues to the Indian U-turn can be found in the actual agenda of the Gates mission as well as the series of stories that appeared in leading western publications in its aftermath. Basically, the Gates mission seemed to have a four-point agenda that was geared at sending different signals to Pakistan and India with a view to pulling both back from what seemed to policy makers in Washington was the "edge of the precipice." According to *THE NEW YORK TIMES* issue of 17 June, quoting a State Department official, "clearly one of the reasons we put the time and effort behind the Gates mission was the concern that a conflict could escalate to nuclear weapons." Basically, the Americans were telling the Indians that should there be a danger of war and in a moment of crunch, "if the Pakistanis backs are to the wall, they will use all available means to defend themselves." In effect, in the American perception, there was a real danger that a Pakistan-India conventional conflict could take on a nuclear edge as well. In a different context, a senior Pakistani official had also reiterated this resolve, that, in

case of Indian aggression, "the price of aggression will be very high. I leave it to your imagination. Some things are best left unsaid."

The second actual but unstated agenda of the Gates mission was concern that rising tensions between Pakistan and India could push the Pakistani side into the arms of Iranians. As it is, the Americans have been expressing their displeasure with the Pakistani Army high command for its growing intimacy with the Iranian military. The third context of the Gates mission flowed from this Pakistan-Iran connection, since the Americans threatened that should there be evidence of Pakistani assistance to the Kashmiri freedom-fighters, Pakistan, like Iran, would be perceived in Washington as a "State abetting and aiding terrorism" and they also threatened that if this were the case, then the Americans would be obliged to suspend all economic and military assistance to Pakistan under their law. In any case, the Americans have privately protested to Pakistan regarding the visit of Hezbollah delegation to attend an international conference on Kashmir in Islamabad on 24-25 March.

Finally, the Gates mission came to Pakistan flaunting the new role which America is likely to assume in post-Afghanistan South Asia. The Americans have already assumed a posture of having "close ties with both our democratic friends," Pakistan and India, thus conveniently bidding good-bye to their "special relationship" with Pakistan which was nurtured during the Afghanistan years. The Gates mission marked the formal demise of that relationship since there has been a "parting of the ways" between Pakistan and the United States on Afghanistan with the concurrent convergence on that issue between the superpowers. The United States has already abandoned the goal of a Mujahideen military victory in Kabul, closing probably the last chapter in the concluding conflict of the Cold War.

Following the Gates mission, three major stories appeared on the theme of a Pakistan-India war developing a nuclear dimension. The opening shot was fired by a story deliberately leaked by the Americans to *THE SUNDAY TIMES* in its issue of 27 May, which said "the United States and the Soviet Union are deeply alarmed about the possibility of a nuclear war-breaking out between India and Pakistan over Kashmir." The second story in this series came on 7 June with an article in *THE NEW YORK TIMES* by Leonard Spector, America's leading nuclear expert. In his article, Spector wrote that "were India and Pakistan to go to war over Kashmir, it would be the first major military conflict in history between two states with ready access to nuclear arms." He urged the superpowers to join hands "to forestall a nuclear confrontation between their allies in South Asia." The third major story on this theme, following the Gates mission, appeared in *THE WASHINGTON POST* in its issue of 10 June by Prof Gary Milhollin. He wrote "if fighting does erupt between India and Pakistan, each side must assume that the other will deploy and possibly use an atomic bomb." The story added, while giving various scenarios of conflict, that "India

and Pakistan now realise that they, like the United States in World War II, built the bomb without knowing what they would do with it."

Two new realities emerge in the aftermath of the Gates mission and the continuing crisis over Kashmir, with India still unable to stamp out the uprising of the heroic Kashmiris through brute force. As India's "bleeding wound" in Kashmir continues to bleed more profusely, these new realities are bound the impinge on future developments in South Asia. First, the United States has now apparently come to accept and recognise the nuclearisation of South Asia as a factor which has clearly military overtones. Second, as the Gates mission exemplifies, Pakistan-American relations have already entered the post-Afghanistan phase the new role which the United States is keen to assume in South Asia. That this new American role vis-a-vis India may be at the expense of the Soviets since they are facing serious troubles at home, should be no cause of satisfaction to Pakistani policy makers. The sooner that Pakistani policy makers grasp the significance of these developments, the better it would contribute to the evolution of an independent, made-in-Pakistan foreign policy.

U.S. Blamed for 'Captive Economy'

*46000142D Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
28 Jun 90 pp 22-24*

[Article by Sardar Shaukat Ali: "Bhutto, the Third World and Pakistan's Captive Economy"]

[Text] On March 1, 1972, the late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had announced his scheme of land reforms in the following words:

"My countrymen, tenants and haris,

"Tonight is your night. I am about to talk to you on the subject of land reforms. I want to tell you that we have decided to change that oppressive and unjust land system which you have been tolerating silently for centuries. This day will usher in a new era, because with one stroke we have uprooted that disease which had for centuries mutilated the face of this beautiful land. We have for our children and your children opened the door of a new brave world. We have saved the future of our progeny. Today I am vindicating my pledges before God and before people and have brought Pakistan on a new turning of history. It is not a sorcerer's trick with history, but a new chapter has been added to the book of our freedom struggle. Our shackles are falling apart. Let us celebrate this moment together."

The Downtrodden

No Pakistani ruler had ever addressed the poor, downtrodden people of the country in such words and no one had invited them to celebrate an occasion together.

Whatever might be the practical results of Bhutto's land reforms, these comradely and sympathetic words trickled into the hearts of the oppressed people like the

morning dew and caressed them with love and affection. In their eyes, after centuries, a leader was born in this land who was calling for sharing their joys and sorrows. It was this quality that drew the ordinary people to Mr. Bhutto and which has sustained the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] to this day.

The powerful voice of the new classes which had been produced by new productive forces was restless to break all barriers of silence and hopelessness, and Mr. Bhutto came on the scene just in time and swept away the old habits of thinking. He provided the people with a sense of identity and self-realisation. He spoke in a Third World idiom and articulated the aspirations of the people of the developing countries.

It should be remembered that although most Third World countries have been able to attain full independence, they are still shackled economically to the industrialised countries' system and their political freedom remains in danger.

It is known that the foreign debt of developing countries has increased over the last three decades about 100 times, so that in 1986 it equalled more than one trillion dollars. The fastest growth in debt has occurred in recent years: it has increased two to three times in most developing countries in less than ten years. In 1985, their indebtedness became equal to more than one-third of their Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and almost 1.5 times more than the value of their exports of goods and services for that year. Many developing countries, because they must pay out from one-third to over one-half of their currency earnings on their debts, have no possibility of decreasing their foreign indebtedness.

It simply looks unbearable that the payments of these debts will have consumed 40 percent of the total exports of such countries. Countries which export oil have spent 80 percent of the income from their exports to pay off their debt and interest. It means that if in 1982 they had access to \$142 billion for imports, by 1990 they would only be getting \$71 billion.

Cuban leader Fidel Castro, in his address to the eighth conference of the non-aligned countries, said: "...Debt like a huge, monstrous cancer, whose malignant cells multiply rapidly tends to reproduce itself and grows to infinity." He then went on to say: "One day we decided to estimate how long it would take a man just to count Latin America's external debt, at the rate of one dollar per second, and the result is more than 12,000 years... Well, the Third World's external debt is the AIDS of the Third World's economy."

Today the debts advanced by the developing capitalist countries to the developing countries have made them their captives and, sitting on their chests, they are smothering them.

In the new conditions trade is also a big and sharp weapon of exploitation in the hands of the developed countries. They sell their manufactured goods to the

developing countries at exorbitant rates, but buy their raw material and semi-processed goods at comparatively cheaper rates. They are compelling the developing countries with the big stick of loans to remove all barriers in the way of imports of their manufactured goods whereas they have shut their own doors to the import of manufactured goods from the developing countries. As a result the newly installed industries of these countries cannot flourish.

"In this regard, the first basic feature is the share of the developing countries in world trade. Thus in 1980, the developed States had further increased their predominance in world exports, surpassing the percentage reached in 1950, and keeping an upward trend, only temporarily affected by oil price increases, while holding decisively qualitative superiority. The non-oil under-developed countries, where 75 percent of the Third World's population lives, experienced a collapse in their trading position. These countries accounted for 23.6 percent of world exports in 1950. In 1980, this figure had declined to 11.6 percent.

Aid for Goods

A U.S. Commerce Secretary, while answering opponents of American aid, had said: "Usually, American aid is given on the condition that it will be spent on purchasing American goods. Thus 75 percent to 80 percent of aid has to be spent in America itself. It is estimated that under the stipulations of a similar contract, Pakistan had to buy goods from America at 13.5 percent higher rates than the world market. Had American aid been without any strings, Pakistan would have been able to purchase more goods worth \$60 million."

The export of capital has also become a big weapon in the hands of the banks and corporations of the advanced countries for the exploitation of the underdeveloped countries. To some extent, the transfer of capital from the advanced to the developing countries plays some role in their development, but the multinationals only use this method to obtain access to valuable raw materials, to utilize cheap labour, to expand their own market and to earn more profits. Multinational companies transfer more profits from the developing countries to the developed countries than the capital they transfer to these countries.

Today, 11,000 multinational companies have 80,000 branches in the world. Forty percent of the total production of the developing countries is in the hands of these companies. They also control 80 percent of the advanced technology of the capitalist economy. Multinationals have thus brought the exploitation of the developing countries to a new, higher level. About \$2,000 to \$2,500 million are invested in Asia, Africa and Latin American countries every year. But every year the multinationals transfer \$3,000 million from these countries to the developed countries.

The multinational companies have also used methods of exploitation based on ethnicism. A study shows that out

of 13,547 U.S. companies, which employed 26 million workers, 28 percent workers were employed in other countries—and were paid wages much lower than American workers—\$1.37 per hour against \$8.60 per hour.

The export of technology to the backward countries is another weapon in the hands of the developed countries and through it they are controlling the newly-established countries. The developing countries are incurring a loss of about \$40 billion annually in buying technology from the developed countries—technology that has become outdated in the countries of origin.

The developed countries, in order to maintain their progress, have also through various subterfuges, kept alive the flames of regional conflicts in the Third World. They are keeping thousands of soldiers, armed with atomic weapons, in foreign lands. This compels many developing countries to spend more and more of their budgets on the import or the manufacture of weapons. In 1972, the Third World had spent \$33 billion on military requirements and it had gone up to \$81 billion in 1981 and was 16 percent of all world military expenditure. The share of the developing countries in the import of arms is three-fourths of the world trade.

It is estimated that the world is spending \$1.5 million on military requirements every minute; and in the same period (one minute), on account of non-availability of medicines and food, 30 children die in the underdeveloped countries.

Today, the per capita income of the developing countries is 13 percent less than the per capita income of the developed countries.

These facts clearly bring home to us that the old imperialist Powers are busy exploiting the developing countries by employing modern methods and are successfully attaining the same objectives as in the past. If there is some development, it is a development of underdevelopment; it is dependent development.

The economic social and political life of Pakistan is also caught in the corroding tentacles of the industrialised world and its banks and corporations. Pakistan is one of those countries, after Israel and Egypt, which is being showered with tied loans and aid.

Ayub Khan, Iskandar Mirza, Mohammad Ali and Ghulam Mohammad—all reared in the best traditions of British bureaucracy—mortgaged the sovereignty and independence of Pakistan against tied loans and military aid. Pakistan was bound, hand and foot, in military alliances—the Baghdad Pact, Cento, and Seato. The Americans were allowed to construct a spy base near Peshawar. The progress Pakistan has made in the field of industry and infrastructure has remained a captive progress.

In 1968, a great people's movement rose which, under the leadership of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, toppled the Ayub Government and anti-American imperialist slogans

filled every nook and corner of the country. The 1970 elections, despite the concerted attack and fatwas of the reactionaries, saw the People's Party win in West Pakistan on the slogan of "Roti, kapra and makan". The dumb millions found voice. But political mistakes and lack of party organisation led to a situation in which reactionary forces united against him. So much so that even element which should have been the natural allies of the People's Party were either pushed into the lap of reactionary force or were neutralised. In these circumstances, with the backing of American imperialism, a reactionary movement came into being.

Pindi Address

Bhutto had proclaimed in the bazars of Rawalpindi that an elephant was trying to trample him underneath. A "mahabat" of this elephant, Henry Kissinger, had warned Bhutto that if Pakistan did not abandon its plans for a nuclear processing plant, a horrible example would be made of him (Bhutto). The Prime Minister was hanged.

Today also this elephant is acting as the leader of the exploiters of the Third World. Transnational corporations, banks and other institutions run under the patronage and protection of American capitalism transferred out of Pakistan \$14 billion between 1980 and 1988. Between 1970-74 and 1977-78, every year \$3,445 million annually was transferred out of Pakistan. During the Zia regime, this increased ten-fold. During 1979-80, there was an addition of \$4,364 million in Pakistan's debt. In 1986-87, Pakistan was given a \$3,389 million loan. Out of this, Pakistan had to pay \$1,101 million as debt instalments—87 percent of the total loan advanced.

The results which flow from taking the path chartered by the International Monetary Fund are dangerous for Pakistan's economy. According to a report of the State Bank of Pakistan, during the four years between 1979-80 and 1982-83, Pakistan exported 1,062 metric tons of cotton against \$1,447 million. But we were compelled to devalue our currency, and we increased the production of cotton and produced 55 percent more cotton between 1983-84 and 1987-88, yet earnings from exports were reduced by 35 percent. Just the opposite happened in our import trade. Between 1979-80 and 1982-83, the bill for the import of medicines, machinery and transport shot up from \$5,531 million to \$6,861 million.

Today, according to an estimate, 80 to 90 percent of the production and distribution of medicines, tea and cigarettes is in the hands of foreign companies. Ninety-five percent of the production of soft drinks is also in foreign hands. And every year new conditions are imposed for opening our doors for the import of more manufactured goods. Thus, we find Pakistan overflowing with foreign luxury goods. It is constantly being hammered home that public sector industries should be dismantled and the pace of privatisation be accelerated. Sanctioning of loans is made dependent upon the fulfilment of these conditions. Similarly pressure is being put to reduce subsidies

on various items which are given to ease the burden of the people and the Government is compelled to increase the prices of fertilizers, electricity, gas, water and petroleum, etc. The Government cannot resist these demands because the economy of Pakistan is so much addicted to loans that it cannot live without them.

The tragedy of Pakistan is that all its development falls under the category of dependent development—except for a few industries which have been installed with the help of the socialist countries. During the 11 years of Ziaul Haq, hundreds of billionaire families mushroomed in addition to the 22 families created during the Ayub era. Scores of billionaire narcotic dealers and manipulators have surfaced and have assumed the role of "dadas" of the powerful groups inside as well as outside the assemblies. The Government machinery is almost paralysed by them; rather, it has become a vehicle for the promotion of their interests, both monetary and political.

Afghan War

Pakistan has been compelled to help continue the war in Afghanistan on account of its dependent, subservient relations with the U.S. Today, the very American interests which had helped undermine the democratic government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto are welcoming the restoration of democracy. But we must remember that capitalism always rides many horses at one time and can change its tactics any moment. It is the duty of the present Government to remember what Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had said in the bazars of Rawalpindi. They should also remember the words he wrote in his death cell.

The path leading to progress and real democracy is littered with dangerous mines. At every turning of the path, the enemies of democracy and progress are sitting in ambush and have laid mines at every step. The successors of Bhutto Shaheed must know that getting rid of tied loans and the dependence they bred is the first condition for real and purposeful development. They must get back to the people and try to understand their problems.

Budget: PPP's Socioeconomic Commitments Said Lacking

46000139A Lahore *VIEWPOINT* in English
14 Jun 90 pp 5-6

[Text] No budget satisfies everyone. Federal Minister of State for Finance Ehsanul Haq Piracha's budget for 1990-91—the second full-fledged budget of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] Government—doesn't, either. In fact, the Chambers of Commerce and Industry and several economic experts have picked big holes in it already. The Combined Opposition Parties have given notice of exposing it in all its inadequacies. But on the whole, the reaction has not been as adverse or as vociferous as it otherwise might have been. The absence of a strong backlash is undoubtedly due to the fact that Mr.

Piracha, who framed his budget after extensive consultations with various sections of business and industry and was thus able to test out various proposals, has tried to cause as little offence as possible all round. Whether this is a good thing or bad depends on from which side you look at it. It can be argued that the budget is so anodyne that it does not give the appearance of being a political document at all, but just an exercise in getting by with the 13 percent or so of the resources left after allowing for debt repayment and defence, expenditure on the former for the first time exceeding that on the latter. So, if political criticism of the budget has to be made, it can only be that it does not come down heavily enough upon those sections which should be paying more for their privileged lifestyle and does not indicate any long-term thinking about the uplift of the poor.

This does not mean that no effort has been made to inject an element of social justice. Most people will in one way or another be affected by the increases in power rates and import levies, and the percentage of direct to indirect taxes remains out of focus. But the increase in power rates, for instance, will be felt less by the power-paid who consume less electricity; the impact of the new import duties will reach the common citizen in only a marginal way in most cases; firmly dealing with agro-services—mostly owned by the big agriculturists—will be taxes for the first time; hotel functions will cost more; and not least Pajeros will be even more expensive. Mr Piracha is, therefore, probably right in saying that the burden of fresh taxation will be largely borne by those who can afford to pay more, and the measures to increase the minimum wage of industrial workers will be seen as a further step towards ameliorating a section of the deprived. Also relevant is something that was announced a week or so before the budget but for which provision has now been made in the document—rural industrialisation, which could have a far-reaching effect on development, unemployment and arresting the influx from the villages to the cities, although no coherent mechanism for implementing the scheme or a clear de-centralisation policy have been outlined. The feeling persists, therefore, that the budget is not bold enough, and does not go far enough as a policy document.

This should not be taken lightly. It was all right if the Zia dictatorship or the unrepresentative Zia-Junejo regime passed off accounting exercises as budgets. For them, not taxing or taking new initiatives meant not hurting the elements which supported them. The PPP [Pakistan People's Party] is an elected government. It has a responsibility to those who voted it into office. It can keep on balancing one group against another at its own peril. It has much to inhibit it. The debris of the Zia years remains an oppressive burden while the products of that era try to make the task of clearing it as difficult as possible. Mr. Piracha has pointed out that even Government employees' salaries were paid out of money borrowed from banks, and the entire deficit of the provinces was being picked up without demur by the central government. There are other immutables about which

little can be done—like defence, and one economist has already said that unless India, whose defence expenditure has registered a huge rise, and Pakistan agree to spend less on defence, they would be headed for mutually assured economic destruction. Debt repayments are an equally immutable factor, and again one for which the PPP Government cannot be blamed. There are other pressures which have all been delineated often enough. But, both in the political field and in the economic sphere, the PPP has to think how it is going to break out of the stays imposed on it. However weak a government it might feel it is, it has to chart out a definite course for itself and take a stand, whether the issue is political or economic. It cannot forever run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. Once it makes up its mind to adopt a principled position, it will find that, even if it suffers in the short-term, it will have resources of strength to draw upon in the long-term which will be richer and more reliable than what the IMF can provide and thus help the country out of the mess created by decades of bureaucratic mismanagement of the national economy. Ad-hoc remedies will not do any longer. The PPP must begin to show greater respect for its socioeconomic commitments.

Budget: Article Evaluates Private Sector's Displeasure

*46000144C Karachi DAWN (Supplement)
in English 23 Jun 90 pp 5, 6*

[Article by Kafique Kabir]

[Text] The Federal Budget for 1990-91 has come as a rude shock to private enterprise. There is consensus that taxation measures will have a negative impact on national trade and industry. These measures are in direct conflict with the Government's avowed policy of encouraging private enterprise as some of the steps will militate against growth of investment in the private sector. No wonder, therefore, that the FPCCI [Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce & Industry] has rejected the budget.

Business circles maintain that the new measures would make investment costlier upsetting the feasibility of many sanctioned projects.

For example, made-up industry in the textile sector faces difficulties due to increase in duties and levies. The 100 percent increase in excise duty on cotton yarn would adversely affect the industry because the spinners would pass on the burden of the levy to the cloth and garment manufacturers. Thus the export of value-added items will be hit hard. The made-up industry is already facing serious difficulties in the export field due to volatile behaviour of US dollar and quota restrictions. The cost of production is also escalating in the wake of the erosion of the value of the rupee. On top of it has come the budget which has sounded a severe blow of the nascent made-up industry.

Hence the industry has demanded immediate withdrawal of excise duty on cotton yarn or at least its reduction from Rs.4 to Rs.3 per kg. or enhancement of refund of drawback on excise duty after exports. The industry has also demanded imposition of export duty on cotton and man-made yarn at the rate of Rs.15 per kg. This is absolutely necessary to save the nascent textile made-up industry which is earning valuable foreign exchange through export of value-added goods. Some of the items represent very high value-addition. The industry is labour-intensive and provides job to hundreds of thousands of skilled and unskilled workers.

The entire private sector has been hit hard by increase in the import surcharge from seven to 10 percent, rise in import licence fee from five to six percent, increase in customs duty and sales tax and enhancement of electricity, POL [Petroleum, Oil and Lubricants] and labour cost.

Another counter-productive measure taken by the budget-makers is the reduction of exemption on dividend income by Rs.5,000. The step is in clear violation of the Government's policy favouring private sector and would affect resource mobilisation effort on the share market. At a time when the Government is thinking of broadening the base of the capital market and encouraging equity participation, such a step would only retard the process. There are many small investors, including widows and pensioners who will be hit hard by this measure. The revenue gain is merely Rs.8 million and thus the decision should be rescinded forthwith, the private entrepreneurs demanded.

Rural Industries

These sources said that though the budget encourages rural industries, the grievous lack of infrastructure in these areas would prove a major handicap. Already fiscal incentives in various industrial estates where infrastructure facilities suffer from gross inadequacies have proved fruitless.

The private entrepreneurs maintain that it is the biggest ever budget in volume and emphasis in it has been mostly on indirect taxes. Describing it as retrogressive, they said that it will further stagnate the process of industrialisation in the country. Some of the businessmen have described the budget as punitive and cumbersome. They said that adjustments in import duty on machinery which in turn will affect the BMR and setting up new factories will create impediments in industrialisation. The total taxation proposals of nearly Rs.13 billion are unprecedented in the country's history (except the aborted budget of Mr. Yasin Wattou during Jonejo's Government) which will badly hurt both commerce and industry and through them 80 percent of the impact will have to be borne by the common man who will ultimately bear the brunt of these taxes.

The main points which are agitating the business community are withdrawal of incentives and exemptions, changes in tax structure and enhancement of workers'

wages and documentation of accounts. These would add to the hardship of the business community pushing the production cost sky high. Since the competitive strength of national industry will be sharply eroded, exports will be adversely affected.

These circles bitterly criticised the restriction of exemption of casual and non-recurring receipts to Rs.25,000 which they believe would discourage investment in the corporate sector. They also disapproved of the withdrawal of tax exemption to the companies rendering agro-services and to persons renting out agricultural machinery, imposition of tax on the income of co-operative societies engaged in real estate business, construction of commercial plazas and sale of immovable property in rural areas, enhancement of the rate of super tax for private companies from 15 to 20 percent, reduction in the upper limit for the levy of surcharge from RS.200,000 to Rs.100,000 in non-salary cases, reduction in the limit of withholding of tax on bank profit from Rs.100,000 to Rs.50,000, restricting the salaries of the directors to Rs.240,000 per annum or 20 percent of the total income of the company whichever is less and last but not least the documentation provision.

From now on, any item of expenditure incurred by an assessee at any one time in a sum exceeding Rs.25,000 may not be allowed as a deductible expenditure from the profit unless it is made through a crossed cheque or a bank draft. Likewise, in cases of loans exceeding Rs.100,000, it would be essential to receive them through crossed cheques. If anyone fails to do so, the loans would be treated as income of the tax payer. The step, according to business circles, would create unnecessary difficulties for the business community. However, the enlightened circle has welcomed the step as it would induct discipline and would bring tax evaders into the tax net. In the long run, it will prove a counterblast to parallel economy.

However, the fact remains that increase in custom duty, sales tax, surcharge and excise duty and withdrawal of exemption of sales tax on additional 31 items would not only push up the cost of production but also check the growth of industrial and business enterprises as it would squeeze the purchasing power of the hard-pressed common man.

Among the measures that have been hailed by the businessmen are the restoration of self-assessment scheme and abolition of panel system. They have also welcomed the provision of 50 percent rebate in excise duty on excess production of sugar. Tax incentives will also help the growth of leather and dairy industries. On the other hand, textiles, tobacco and cement industries will be adversely affected by tax increases.

Since most of the Pakistani industries are based on imported raw materials and machinery, their production cost will escalate fast to the grave detriment of the production units. The additional Central Excise revenues of Rs.2.12 billion and ST would raise the sale prices

of these products. This may also lead to further devaluation of the rupee thereby increasing the import cost substantially. Its inflationary impact on the economy will be severe. It is apprehended that now the Government will raise the gas prices following the 8.33 percent increase in electricity rates and earlier rise of 15.8 percent in POL prices. These measures will thus have a negative impact on the national industry.

The increase in minimum wages could deprive the country of the only benefit it enjoyed over other countries to attract foreign investment. Pakistan was in a position to offer cheap labour and that was the only plus point to lure overseas investors. The business circles said that such a big increase in minimum wages would make Pakistan a negative country while lack of infrastructure and other facilities have already swayed away foreign investors. It will create the vicious circle of wage-price hike which would prove suicidal. The inflationary impact of taxation measures would be at least 3 percent.

The indigenous textile industry will be worst hit by the wage hike as it is a labour-intensive industry. If the premier national industry suffers reverses, it would gravely jeopardise national interest.

However, it was conceded that the budget contained some very positive measures also and thus it was a mixed blessing. The increase in the difference of tax rate between the companies listed on the stock exchange and the unlisted ones to 10 percent would help growth of the share market. Similarly the establishment of Pakistan Fund of \$50 million with the assistance of the Asian Development Bank is a positive measure. This will give boost to foreign investment and accelerate investment activity in the capital market. The business circles, however, emphasised that the Karachi Stock Exchange should be associated with the working out of the modalities of the operations of Pakistan Fund to ensure its early implementation.

These circles also welcomed the grant of permission to private sector into life insurance business. They also welcomed the setting up of a house building finance company in the private sector. This is in quite conformity with the Government's avowed policy of privatisation and reflects a fundamental structural change in the Government's policy.

These sources also welcomed the re-introduction of tax credit facility under BMR which will greatly help modernisation of local industries and improve their efficiency.

These sources stressed that the Government should have levied 2 1/2 percent withholding tax on bearer securities as most of the black money has found its way into these securities. This would have fetched the national exchequer at least Rs.2 billion besides giving a boost to share business on the stockexchange. They also deplored the enlargement of limit from Rs.50 million to Rs.150 million under the Monopolies Control Act. This would militate against the effective check on the growth of

monopolies in the country. Now there will be no compulsion for such companies to go public and get listed on the stock exchange. The Government should have tightened the noose around the neck of such companies rather than giving them a long rope. In fact, in view of the egalitarian objectives of the present Government, the need for strong administrative measures to force private companies to become public limited was clearly underscored. Greater public participation in the corporate sector is the need of the hour.

Last but not the least, 20 percent increase in railway and air fares would enhance the transport cost of industrial enterprises and ultimately the burden will fall on the common man. The imposition of central excise duty on goods carriers is yet another measure which will have a negative impact on the national industry. Enhancement of POL prices has already raised the transport cost. All these measures taken together will impose a crippling burden on the national industry sharply eroding its competitive edge in the international market.

Some of the businessmen said that the budget is full of anomalies which make the confusion worse confounded. It is anti-investment, export-deterrant, anti-people, and inflation-oriented budget. It will hit the common man hard as the entire burden of additional levies will ultimately be passed on to the consumer. The devastating effect of increases in electricity tariff, fuel adjustment charges, import licence fee, excise duty, sales tax, wages, super tax, import surcharge on the cost of production can be better imagined than said. The exports will suffer tremendously while the investment rate will slow down perceptibly.

The Government, they said, had come down with a vengeance on the textile industry which had heralded 'Movement for Restoration of Peace.' They said that textile goods account for two-thirds of our total exports but by increasing the excise duty on cotton yarn, the Government has killed the hen that lays golden eggs. Instead of encouraging the export of value-added goods, a mortal blow has been dealt to it. The Government's indifferent attitude towards sick units has also been deplored.

The pharmaceutical industry is also very sore about the budgetary proposals which, according to it, are contrary to the commitments of the ruling party made in its election manifesto and very recently repeated in the national health policy wherein it was committed that the role of the multi-nationals will be minimised and the national pharmaceutical units would be encouraged to gain their due share. The budget, they said, does not contain a single measure in this direction. On the other hand, the industry has been put under further pressures by increase in electricity cost, wages and salaries, telecommunications, import licence fee and other various inputs. These sources said that it was the height of injustice that while the prices of medicines were strictly controlled, the production cost had been increased. The

industry has already been hit hard by continuous devaluation of the Pakistan rupee against major currencies of the world, they said. They added that the pharmaceutical industry was being forced to close down by these budgetary measures. They said that the closure of the industry was imminent unless the prices of medicines were decontrolled or duty-free import of machinery and parts was allowed, bank credits at concessional rates was granted and the industry was declared tax-free for at least next five years. There should be complete ban on the import of those medicines in finished form which are already being manufactured in Pakistan.

In the end, the business circles expressed the hope that the Government will scrupulously avoid imposition of mid-term and adhoc levies which will not only add to uncertainties but will further widen the credibility gap between the Government and the private sector.

Public, Trade Union Reactions to Budget Viewed

*46000139D Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
14 Jun 90 pp 12-13*

[Article by Mahmood Ahmad Kahn: "Public Reactions"]

[Text] "Life becomes one step more difficult after the budget," says a friendly jobsman, Suleiman, who is known for austerity and 'live-within-means' concept in the family.

"It is not the budget itself but it's fear for the business community which raises prices of articles of daily use in anticipation of the taxation proposals," he says.

Stationery stores were selling their items at higher rates much before the budget as if they knew what would be the new taxes on the things they sold.

"I purchased a whole lot of notebooks, writing pads and other items and booked orders for more," says a stationery store owner in Samanabad.

Overnight Money

Almost the same was the attitude of tobacconists and beverage sellers. "The budget brings money overnight," says a trader in Urdu Bazar. Being a wholesale dealer, in writing paper, he says he blocked the supplies to small shopkeepers as he had been tipped that there would be a sales tax on paper. Without giving figures, he says he has saved as much as he would earn in a year. Irshad, an iron merchant, says he opened letters of credit worth Rs. 5 million and purchased licences for import on rates prevalent before the budget. He says he was sure the import licence fee would be raised and import surcharge increased.

In the cities, the traders pass on all their burden to the consumers.

"I am not selling my imported red meranti wood these days," says Tanvir, a wood trader. He expected a rise in

import duty and it was there in the budget. Three days after the budget, he learned from his Islamabad sources that duty on the import of red meranti had risen from fifty percent to eighty percent. "Isn't it a matter of concern to you?" I asked "Not at all, my godowns are full of merchandise and with the announcement of the duty rise, rates in the market will rise and I will make more," he says frankly.

He goes even beyond it. He says it is a misconception that the Government has taxed the businessman. The additional duty on red meranti wood will have a direct bearing on buyers. "The same is the case with almost all businessmen.

The burden of every budget has to be borne invariably by the poor. Roti, for instance, went up from paisa 50 to one rupee a few days before the budget, says a man who eats at one of the city tandoors, which otherwise provide the cheapest food to working people. Young lads from poor families take to crime because they cannot make two ends meet legitimately, he says. "Roti had not been taxed," haggled one housewife at the 'tandoor'. Why had its prices been raised? she asked. The tandoor-wallah says he is not responsible because the big flour mill-owners have raised flour rates.

Once the price of an item has been raised, it is not going to go down even if it is not taxed, and there is nobody to stop the traders, says another middle-aged man.

The most criticised proposal in the budget by the common man is the raise in electricity rates. Shahbaz, a salaried man, is much worried. He says he spends one-eighth of his salary on electricity and an equal amount on milk. Now, he will have to cut down on milk he buys for four children and pay the savings thus made for electricity.

Oil Prices

He says his motorbike is already costing a hundred rupees more in fuel whose prices were raised a few months before the budget. Mutton, he says, is totally beyond his reach and even lemon and cucumber have become luxury items.

Public servants have been given some relief but who is going to help workers in the private sector? asked a clerk in a firm. "I have to go for a part-time job to make some more money. So I'll have little time for my children whom I used to teach at home."

Women are more critical of the budget as they have to bear the hurdles directly. "The market is on fire," comments a middle-class woman with typical Punjabi forthrightness.

It is the 15.5 percent sales tax on 31 items including leather, woollen garments, safety razors, tyres and tubes, cells, and spectacles frames which will affect everyone directly. Other items on which the sales tax has been levied include chemicals and goods of daily use.

"The concessions and incentives for industrial development in the rural areas are very attractive," comments a teacher of economics in a local college. Tax-holiday for eight years, duty-free import of machinery, loans at eight percent interest and no questioning of black money investment will definitely attract investment and lead to prosperity, he thinks.

It is difficult to assess the impact of the budget, says another educated man. The Government raised petrol prices arbitrarily some months ago. "You never-can tell what will go up next," he says.

Economists, however, look at the budget differently. In the given situation, they think, the budget is not all that bad. An economist, who is very critical of Government policies but would not like to be named, says that there is room for better economic management and austerity. He thinks the Government does not have effective control over the bureaucracy, especially the CBR [Crude Birth Rate].

"To yoke these callous economic tyrants to the will of the people," he says, "is no easy task for the ruling party and neither has it experts in its ranks who can understand the intricacies of an economy under grave internal and external stress."

TU Reaction

Considering trade union [TU] reaction to the Federal budget for 1990-91 was slow in coming. But one labour leader, Tariq Lateef, said that although the Federal Government had sanctioned 45 projects worth Rs. 72 billion, the jobs expected to be generated totalled only 6,200. Thus, the budget had failed to address itself to the problem of unemployment.

Tariq Lateef also said that while the increase in the minimum wage for workers from Rs. 715 per month to Rs. 1,100 per month looked phenomenal, it would actually benefit only new employees, because those already working in the organised sector were getting more than that.

It could even create problems—for instance, for those old employees who were getting Rs. 1,200 or so and who would not take kindly to a newcomer getting Rs. 1,100. Tariq Lateef said it would have been better if an across-the-board increase in the existing wages had been given on the pattern of the rise sanctioned for Government servants.

Women National Assembly Members

46000143C Karachi DAWN in English 18 Jun 90 p 10

[Article by Shaheen Sehbai: "The Tale of Two COP Ladies"]

[Text] Islamabad, June 17—Loads of "Halwa" and "Puri" will begin reaching the Parliament House for Treasury MNA [Member of National Assembly]s from Monday as the budget sessions enters its most crucial

phase with the beginning of cut motions. The Prime Minister has directed that all her partymen should have their breakfast in the Assembly Building and join her at tea in the afternoon everyday.

But the "Halwa" and "Puri" will not be available for the Opposition 'Mullas' in particular and the rest of the COP [Combined Opposition Parties] allies in general, included among them the two glittering lady stars—Syeda Abida Hussain and Dr Attiya Enayatullah—who remain always pitched in a severe competition to impress the House with their English or score points in the Press with the weightiness or weightlessness of their arguments.

This lurking tussle between these two ladies was, in a way, one of the features of Sunday's pointless debate on charged expenditure of Rs831 billion—in which no cut motions were allowed. The bland way in which Mr Piracha winds up these debates was witnessed again.

Abida has been having problems with the journalists and her speeches in the House have been usually boycotted—a point which tells in her behaviour outside the House. But Attiya Enayatullah keeps a better, well guarded profile, reserved to a point, cool, dignified. The same cannot be said for the lady from Jhang.

Both spoke on the expenditures for Senate, President, Supreme Court and debts, Abida strayed into long discussions, pointless at times. Attiya was crisp and biting.

The healthy race between these two ladies always figures when Abida gets time off from her grand race for honours and position against the premier lady of the House—Ms Benazir Bhutto. Many believe Abida genuinely aspires for the position Ms Bhutto enjoys and her frustrations for not making it often show.

The massive build-up for Interior Minister Aitzaz Ahsan's budget speech on Saturday in which he was expected to have announced measures that would have settled the Article 245 vs Article 147 controversy proved counter-productive the day after.

Aitzaz did not announce anything but President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, through a spokesman distanced himself from the government by stating that "no agreement to invoke Article 147 was ever reached with the President and he is not a party to the Government's contemplation to that effect."

The Home Minister had been telling newsmen privately that his speech would mark an end to the whole controversy and that those fanning it would "look not only small but stupid for doing so." But now, with the President coming out publicly, and newspapers even quoting unnamed senior army officers in their stories, who is looking small is obvious.

Dr Sher Afgan, the Minister who has elevated his political image and who is hell bent to degrade Speaker Malik Miraj Khalid, was in high spirits in the cafeteria. His writ

in the Lahore High Court was technically admitted and the Judge had called for setting up of a bigger bench to deal with the "important constitutional issue" raised by Dr Afgan.

Also wondering in the cafeteria, at a nearby table, were two former Commerce Ministers, Mian Zahid Saifraz from Faisalabad and Tasneem Nawaz Gardezi from Bahawalpur, about the way the present Commerce Minister was running the show.

"In our time we suspended the entire Cotton Export Corporation for selling cotton cheaply. What is happening now either means that the Minister knows nothing or that he is deeply involved," Gardezi observed.

But Faisal Saleh Hayat is one gem of a person who can remain unruffled and cool no matter how heavy the basket of garbage and junk thrown at his face. Trash can do no harm but simple, true facts which shatter his image in the eyes of everybody, hardly bother him. He remains at his calculated, unassuming but lucrative game, always.

Also unassuming, in his posture these days is Khawaja Ahmed Tariq Rahim, the one-time busy body of the House. Even Prime Minister Bhutto was asking him the other night, at her dinner for Kashmiri MLA [Member of Legislative Assembly], why he was away and where. No one knows, but Rahim has been making statements strongly in favour of Speaker Miraj Khalid while his deputy, now resigned Dr Sher Afgan, was preparing the case to convict the Speaker.

The poorest plight in the House these days is of the few MQM [Mujahir Qaumi Movement] MNAs who are now privately grumbling soarly about the treatment the COP and IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] have given them in their "hour of trial."

"We had tested the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] first and now we have tested the COP. Both let us down," they say in private conversations.

"Their experimentation has cost them heavily," an MNA from Faisalabad commented quietly in the cafeteria.

Sindh: Article Urges All Parties To Join Peace Efforts

46000139B Lahore *VIEWPOINT in English*
14 Jun 90 p 6

[Text] The conference for peace in Sindh has, predictably, not had the desired impact on the disturbed and disturbing situation in the province, mainly because the Mohajir Qaumi Mahaz decided to reject the Sindh Government's invitation to the all-parties talks. Even before the conveners had explained their plan, the MQM [Mujahir Qaumi Movement] Chief announced from London, where he tarries for medical treatment, that his party would join the parleys only on certain conditions. The first of his three conditions was that the ruling party

should apologize abjectly for the havoc it had wrought in Hyderabad, and punish all the officials considered guilty by the MQM—even before the judicial inquiry had given its verdict. To demand that, as a pre-requisite for its agreeing to a dialogue, the Sindh Government should parade in sackcloth and ashes, muttering mea culpa, meant that Altaf Hussain's party did not wish to co-operate with the Sindh authorities to solve the province's many problems. It seems plain that the MQM and the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] are working for bigger stakes and, therefore, they are not ready to join hands with other political parties to restore peace in the region.

On the question of offering apologies, the truth is that all political parties in the country need to apologize—to the people—for the sorry mess they have made in recent years. The promise that, under a democratic dispensation, Pakistan would begin to deal with the many problems inherited from the martial law regime has been belied, because most parties seem determined to hold on to the positions they have acquired no matter what the cost, while parties and leaders left out in the cold are working with equal assiduity, and at times with greater lack of scruple, to make a grab for power even if it means upsetting the whole applecart. In this power game—the intrigue and machinations, the wild, emotive slogan-mongering to arouse ethnic or sectarian passions—the MQM has not lagged behind any other party. Its leaders should now try and evolve a maturer pattern of politicking so that in both national and Sindh politics they can play the part to which they are entitled by the support they have received in Sindh's main towns. Their first endeavour must be to help restore peace in the province, accepting that violence can only beget more violence and that Klashnikovs will not help solve any political problem.

The Karachi conference, attended by twenty-two political parties out of the twenty-nine invited, held prolonged consultations over how law and order could be restored. Terrorism in any form was condemned unanimously and without reservation; the Sindh Government was urged to take firm and impartial action against all terrorists, and ensure that severe punishment was handed out to those found guilty of such heinous crimes as dacoity and kidnapping for ransom or with political motives. The Conference appropriately demanded that the Government should speed up action to recover illegal arms in all parts of the province, without any discrimination and irrespective of any ethnic or political affiliations of those suspected of possessing unlicensed weapons. All participants also expressed their firm faith in the democratic process and called for its continuation in a spirit of cooperation. Not surprisingly, in view of the prevailing polarization among journals published in different languages in Sindh, the Conference expressed its dissatisfaction with the role of certain newspapers and considered them guilty of negative policies which promoted hatred, prejudice and misunderstanding. The Conference finally decided to set up a committee of the

heads of all participating political parties to meet regularly and oversee the steps taken by Government in line with the Conference decisions. A great deal will depend on how earnestly and honestly the Sindh Government can start implementing the joint decisions. Obviously, all other parties, including those which considered it expedient to stay away from the Conference, should be persuaded to join the peace effort, since its success is vital for the future of Sindh and the country.

Political Leadership in Sindh Asked To 'Face the Problem'

*46000140B Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
14 Jun 90 pp 17-18*

[Text] With the deployment of army in Karachi and Hyderabad and the establishment of about 200 posts at strategic places with heavy machine guns, law and order has been restored and life seems to have returned to normal. But the citizens still have some lurking fears and are doubtful about the duration of the prevailing peace.

These fears are strengthened by such incidents as happened on 6 June when a bus carrying Parkland Cement workers was ambushed near the factory area and fired upon; 13 persons were killed on the spot and an equal number seriously injured. A number of rail trains were also attacked in the interior of Sindh, looted and many people were injured.

Beg's Visit

The army chief of staff, Mirza Aslam Beg, visited the two cities of Karachi and Hyderabad twice in a week and inspected the deployment of troops and discussed the strategy and the operational plan with his officers. Earlier, he met the president and the prime minister.

In Karachi, the COAS [Chief of Army Staff] reaffirmed his firm resolve to restore complete peace and normalcy within a few days and to help those who had been forced to leave their homes to return. However, he said that Sindh was faced with a political crisis and long-term peace depended on a political solution of the problem. The respite which the army could provide should be used to seek a permanent solution, he said.

For this purpose, the Sindh Government called a conference of all political parties to which 28 parties and groups were invited. The agenda of the conference was:

1. Identification of the causes of the deterioration of the law and order situation and escalation of the ethnic and sectarian hatred and polarisation in Sindh, particularly during the last 5 years.
2. Suggestions for effective and pragmatic ways and means (both short-term and long-term) to:
 - a. eradicate terrorism, violence, brutal use of sophisticated, illegal weapons and organised crime;
 - b. eliminate ethnic and sectarian hatred and polarisation;

- c. restore peace, tranquility, harmony and an atmosphere of unity and brotherhood among all sections of the public, both in rural and urban Sindh.

The conference was attended by 22 parties, with the major player on the Sindh urban scene, the MQM [Mujahir Qaumi Movement], abstaining. Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, still nursing his betrayal by the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] in the presidential election, and Mr Nawaz Sharif had earlier announced on behalf of the COP [Combined Opposition Parties] and the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] that the component parties would boycott the conference. However, the Jamaat-i-Islami and the JUI [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam] (Fazlur Rehman group) did participate. Prominent among others who attended, apart from the PPP, were SNF [Sindh National Front?] (Mumtaz Bhutto), SNI [Shelter Now International] (Palijo), SNA [Sindh National Alliance], Jeay Sindh Tehrik, Mohajir Rabita Council, Mohajir Ittehad Tehrik, the PPI [Pashtun-Punjabi Ittehad], and JUP [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan] (Noorani).

MQM Preconditions

The MQM chief had earlier laid down three conditions for participation. These were:

1. The Sindh Government should take appropriate measures to restore peace. (It was exactly this issue the conference was about.)
2. The government should prove that the police and the army would not be used to kill MQM supporters.
3. The government should apologise for killing women and children in Hyderabad.

All efforts made for 4 days by a Sindh Minister to deliver the invitation to MQM Chairman Azim Ahmed Tariq failed as the Chairman remained untraceable and the Mayor and Deputy Mayor and the Sindh Assembly Deputy Speaker belonging to MQM refused to receive the invitation on the Chairman's behalf. There was no one at the Markaz at Azizabad either to respond to telephone calls or to receive a telegram.

The conference started at 11 a.m. and continued till 1:30 a.m. the next day (Thursday). It was divided into five sessions. The breaks were used for offering prayers and for lunch and dinner. All the members spoke freely and frankly.

Consensus

1. All illegal arms must be seized throughout the province.
2. All terrorists and criminals must be arrested.
3. Imposition of martial law, emergency and Governor's rule was not the solution of the problem.

The speakers stressed the need for setting up speedy trial courts for prosecuting terrorists and criminals. The conference also set up a permanent committee consisting of the heads of all participating parties to advise the government and to meet frequently.

The government has, at the same time, extended the terms of reference of the Judicial Commission set up to investigate the bloody incidents of 7 February. Under the new terms of reference, the Commission will also investigate all events which happened subsequently up to the Hyderabad and Karachi bloodshed.

The establishment of law and order may be the immediate short-term objective but permanent peace can be established only when, as General Beg put it, a political solution is found. This is possible only when the political leadership gathers courage to cast aside narrow party considerations and face the problem squarely.

Illegal Arms

Seizure of illegal arms is not practicable so long as huge stores exist with the Afghan Mujahideen, and so long as the flow of these arms into Sindh continues unhindered, sometimes with the help of unscrupulous State functionaries, and so long as the Afghan refugees have their own State within a State. Observers feel that we have to live with this phenomenon until all the refugees leave for Afghanistan with their dumps to establish their own balance of terror which is the basic of a tribal society.

Eradication of terrorists, these observers feel, will be practicable only when a new social contract is evolved and established which would be possible when the real problem, shorn of polemics, is addressed. The core problem, from which other problems flow, is the demographic change that has occurred in Sindh since independence.

In 1947, the population of the Sindhis in Sindh was 95 percent; by 1951 they had been reduced to 80 percent and according to the Senate committee report on Sindh, the ratio had further come down to 52.4 percent by 1981. The population of Karachi alone has been increasing at the rate of 6 percent—double the national average—and by now the worst fears of the Sindhis—being turned into a minority there—might have come true. Some non-Sindhi elements have already demanded adjustment in the political and constitutional set-up on the basis of the new claimed ratio.

Psychological Commotion

The facts of the 1981 census caused psychological commotion among the Sindhis and the ethnic relations began to deteriorate. The tensions did not come to the surface immediately because at that time, the Sindhis were more preoccupied than other nationalities in the struggle against the military dictatorship. But muted disquiet was being expressed at the emerging scenario in the early eighties.

With the establishment of a limited democracy in 1985, the Sindhis began to reassert their rights and accelerated their efforts to regain the Sindhi identity of their province. This reassertion exhibited itself in denying education to the non-Sindhis in the interior as educated non-Sindhis were perceived to be keeping Sindhis out of

State jobs and imposing their superiority in culture and language over them. The environment in educational institutions, specially professional ones, became so poisonous that acquiring education in certain places by the non-Sindhis students became almost impossible.

Had there been a real national leadership in the country, it would have immediately addressed itself to the rapidly changing demography of the province which was causing social convulsions. The core problem had been identified long ago and specifically pointed out by the Masuduzzman Commission but every-one was afraid of even acknowledging it, leave alone finding a solution.

The problem is not new. It has occurred in other countries and only those nations could find a solution which practised hard realism or at least acknowledged its existence. Similar demographic challenges exist in Quebec (Canada), Malaysia, in many republics of the USSR, Assam, and the north-eastern part of Sri Lanka (Tamil areas). In many of these areas conflict and bloodshed continued till realism dawned on the political leadership.

Inter-provincial movements of people cannot be stopped within a State but the consensus on domicile rules can be so changed for all the provinces that the identity of each of them is preserved. It is not the problem of Sindh alone. Today it is Sindh. Tomorrow it will be Balochistan. Economic development of that province, whenever it is undertaken in right earnest, will attract people from other provinces. As the population of the region is small, even a slight influx may disturb the demographic balance. For future harmony and uninhibited development, it is essential that the right decision is taken right now.

Role in Sindh Cities Feared

46000143B Karachi DAWN in English 18 Jun 90 p 7

[Article by Ayaz Amir: "A Muddled Victory, But for How Long"]

[Text] Twenty days ago Karachi and Hyderabad seemed headed for total disaster. Some of the most wanton killings witnessed in the two cities left over a hundred people dead. Mohajirs feared for their lives in the interior; Sindhis in the towns. Excoriated from all sides, the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] Government stood thoroughly discredited, with the Army alone seeming to hold the thin line between order and anarchy. A bare twenty days later, much of that seems to have changed.

The violence has subsided and a semblance of calm has returned to both the cities. Under a security umbrella provided by the Army, the police have been rounding up suspects throughout the province. Said to be an even-handed operation, its brunt is clearly falling on the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement]. Surprisingly, however, there has been no resistance from that quarter.

Fearing arrest, MQM leaders have gone underground. Beyond waiting for the storm to pass, they seem to have no clear idea what to do. To their disadvantage, but to the no small convenience of the Sindh administration, they are also bereft of the guiding hand of party supremo, Altaf Hussain, who left for London before the present crackdown began.

To make matters worse, the MQM is receiving precious little support, at least none visible to mortal eyes, from its COP [Combined Opposition Parties] allies. Since the police action in Hyderabad on May 26 and 27, when scores of Mohajirs were killed, no COP leader has visited Karachi or Hyderabad. No wonder Altaf Hussain sounded distressed when, speaking in London on June 12, he called upon the leaders of the COP and the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] to come to the aid of the MQM "in this critical hour." For the first time since the PPP came to power, the MQM has thus been put on the defensive.

How has this situation come about and how has Miss Bhutto's government, pilloried for its weakness and incompetence, passed from the defence to the attack? The answer lies in the role of the Army. The Army is providing the protective cover which has enabled the Sindh Government to throw a drag-net around the MQM. Without this crucial support, the Sindh government would not have been able to recover from its paralysis and take on the MQM. Nor would Ms Bhutto have been able to recover so quickly from what pundits were describing as her most serious crisis since she became Prime Minister.

So the larger question is: Why has the Army thought fit to come to the PPP's assistance? Not because of any love for the PPP. Of that there should be little doubt. There is a fair measure of distrust felt by the top echelons of the Army for the PPP. The roots of this antipathy, which go back to the time of the first PPP Government, have not been eradicated despite the present understanding between Ms Bhutto and the Army. Nor can it be said that the Army has come to the PPP's assistance because of any animus against the MQM. On the contrary, the Mohajir population of Karachi and Hyderabad feels a certain empathy for the Army. It is no accident that when troops moved into Hyderabad recently, they were greeted by portraits of General Zia-ul-Haq and hailed as deliverers by the local population.

It is also not much of an answer to suggest that as the Army is constitutionally bound to come to the aid of civil power when the need so arises, it is performing no more than its constitutional duty in helping the Sindh administration restore law and order. Made much of by political idealists, such explanations, unfortunately, are not grounded in political reality. In 1971 and 1977, considerations of realpolitik, rather than constitutional abstractions, made the Army act as it did. There is no reason to think that it is acting in Sindh any differently.

So the question bears repeating: why has the Army thus come to the PPP's assistance? Because, the simple answer is, the Army cannot close its eyes to the fact that the crisis in Sindh is beginning to have a heavy bearing on national security. With the threat of war with India looming on the horizon, unrest in Sindh is as great a distraction for the Pakistan Army as unrest in Kashmir or East Punjab is for the Indian army.... If hostilities break out today, Sindh will be Pakistan's soft underbelly, with the Indian army pointing a dagger at it and striving to cut it off from the rest of the country.

Continued turbulence in Sindh fits in much with Indian planning. The conjunction of these two factors—Indian war aims and unrest in Sindh—forced the Army to act. The MQM should have realised that if in the course of defying the authority of the Sindh Government it went too far, it was bound to step on the Army's toes. There may be wide sympathy for the MQM in the Army. But this sympathy does not transcend the Army's need to have peaceful conditions at its back when it faces a hostile army in front.

The opponents of the PPP have always accused it of playing the Sindh card. Do they realise that it is the PPP's assistance in its hour of need? Weak and blundering though Ms Bhutto's government is, no one in Islamabad sees any alternative to it, especially not in Sindh where it remains, apart from the MQM, the only party which matters. The day Mohammad Khan Junejo or Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi can step into Benazir's shoes, or the day there is a genuinely rapprochement between Pakistan and India, the Sindh card will no longer be the PPP's to play. But that day seems a long way off and till it dawns the Army will remain under the necessity of tolerating the PPP.

The MQM, however, has no one to thank but itself for its predicament. In its zeal to crush all opposition in Karachi and Hyderabad, it miscalculated the Army's threshold of tolerance. It also put excessive faith in the alliance with the COP, thinking that it would save it from isolation. But the COP was useful as long as the MQM confronted the PPP. The moment the Army stepped into the field, the COP leaders, some of whom have been proteges of the Army, immediately curbed the tendency, earlier cultivated to excess, to come rushing to Karachi at the smallest hint of trouble. Of greater surprise than is the fact that even though the MQM faces a crisis in Karachi, the budget session of the National Assembly is taking place quite normally in Islamabad, with no one, not even the MQM's allies, saying much about the Sindh situation.

But should the PPP government plume itself on this improbable success that has come its way? Not if it is interested in a long-term solution of Sindh's troubles. How long can the Army afford to man its pickets in Karachi? Not forever. And the day it withdraws to its cantonments, all the discontent which has temporarily gone underground will re-emerge in all its fury. The MQM has had the sense not to confront the Army.

Which means that unless the Army goes all out to crush it, the MQM will be able to function without much damage when the present operation is over. What will Ms Bhutto do then? Punitive action, as anyone can tell her, is no substitute for a political solution. Altaf Hussain needs to realise this as much as she does, for both leaders, while shouldering heavy responsibilities, tend to ignore the wood for the trees.

At any rate, it should be obvious to everyone that it is the Army which is benefiting the most from the present situation. The more it is called upon to pull the civilian chestnut out of the fire, the greater its godfather role. During General Zia's military rule, the theory held away that the absence of democracy was the prime cause of all that was wrong with Sindh. According to this theory, the Sindh situation should have improved with the PPP's coming to power. But it has worsened and shown that the Army, ironically, is the only bulwark against a slide into total anarchy.

Ms Bhutto came to power to exorcise forever the demons of dictatorship. She seems, instead, to have made a strong case for a permanent military role in politics. Not even her worst enemies thought her capable of doing this.

Centre-Punjab Dialogue Initiated

90AS0232A Karachi DAWN in English 9 Jul 90 pp 1, 5

[Article by DAWN Lahore Bureau: "Conciliation Talks Inch Forward"]

[Text] Lahore, July 8—The two conciliation committees, constituted to evolve a working relationship between the Centre and the Punjab, ended the first phase of their assignment on Sunday by completing the first reading of the Punjab Government's 16-point agenda, which identifies the irritants and demands that a return to normal relations between the governments at Islamabad and Lahore be ensured.

In the five-hour session held at the Punjab Assembly chambers in a "cordial atmosphere," the committee representing the Federal Government assured its provincial counterpart that the opposition would also be given due coverage by the electronic media and its "newsworthy" stories would be carried.

It was also decided that the Minister for Water and Power, Sardar Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari, would brief in a couple of days, the members of the committee on issues like the apportionment of water between provinces, construction of Kalabagh dam and the controversial Wullar barrage.

The two sides agreed that since the negotiations related to delicate and technical matters of national importance, having far-reaching implications, they would have to seek expert advice.

The 15-item agenda given by the Federal committee would come up for discussion on Monday, the second day of the third round.

The Federal committee comprises Syed Yousaf Reza Gilani, Minister for Housing and Works, and Malik Mohammad Qasim, Chairman, Federal Anti-Corruption Committee. The Punjab Government is represented by Mian Manzoor Ahmed Wattou, Speaker of the Punjab Assembly, Mr Ghulam Haider Wyne, MNA [Member of National Assembly] and provincial Secretary-General of the Pakistan Muslim League, and Malik Naeem Ahmed Khan, MNA.

The two committees have already agreed upon the need for legislation to curb floor-crossing. The Federal committee had also assured the provincial committee that provinces' shares in the Federal ADP (Annual Development Programme) would be increased and constitution of and announcement of award by the National Finance Commission would be ensured in six months. The two sides have also agreed not to indulge in propaganda against each other.

With the completion of the initial discussion on the agenda given by the Punjab Government, demands in items, 1, 6, 7, 14, 15 and 16 have been partly or completely met.

However, the major demands which still remain to be met relate to the establishment of a high-powered judicial commission to look into the complaints of corruption against members of parliament and the provincial assemblies, allocation of funds under the People's Programme to all the legislators, irrespective of their political affiliations, and implementation of this programme through the provincial governments and the local bodies, convening of a meeting of the Council of Common Interest (CCI) to settle outstanding issues, association of provinces in the implementation of the industrial policy and cooperation between the Centre and the provinces to restore law and order.

The Punjab Government also wants that the provinces should be restored all the powers under the Zakat and Ushr system and that they should be provided with funds from the Federal Workers Welfare Fund and given agricultural credits.

The 15-item agenda given by the Centre contains some demands which will be difficult for the Punjab Government to meet. For example, item number 6 of the agenda calls upon the provincial government to step/reverse "all activities designed to undermine the Federation." It points out that the Punjab Bank, Punjab TV, provincial WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority] and orchestration of strikes on price-hike fall under such activities.

Another item demands that all statements against the Federal Government, the Prime Minister or her family, Federal Ministers or associates of the Federal Government be stopped forthwith.

"Constitutional limitations on the activities of the provincial government be recognised and strictly adhered to. In particular, country's relations with other governments, with Heads of State and Government, with members of foreign governments should not be interfered with and if any contact is necessary, it should be done through the foreign office," says item 8 of the Federal agenda.

Another item demands share for the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] MPA [Member of Provincial Assembly]s out of the provincial ADP.

Yet another item calls upon the provincial government to recognise the write of the Federal government.

Unity Urged in Punjab Assembly Irrespective of Affiliation

46000143A Karachi DAWN in English 18 Jun 90 p 6

[Text] Lahore, June 17—Opposition leaders in the Punjab Assembly on Sunday strongly pleaded for unity among the elected representatives irrespective of their political affiliation to forestall the threat of another martial law and to "counter the bureaucracy's tactics of playing on their differences."

Completing his overnight speech, the Leader of the Opposition, Rana Shaukat Mahmood, referred to parts of the Finance Minister's budget speech which, he claimed, dwelt more on subjects which only widened the cleavage between Lahore and Islamabad and had little relevance to the province's economy which, he thought, should have been the focus of the budget speech.

He observed that one failed to understand the motive behind mentioning the Kashmir issue, the Sindh situation and the settled issue of giving grants to the province. These issues, he argued, concerned the whole country and had no special relevance to Punjab. "It clearly exposed the way the bureaucracy was manipulating matters to keep the Punjab and the Centre at variance."

He praised the Federal Government for providing more funds to the Punjab than last year, despite the large allocation for defence.

He urged the Finance Minister to take action against those responsible for blunders in the budgetary documents.

Criticising the budget proposals for 1990-91, the Opposition leader observed that the Government had totally ignored welfare schemes for women. Suggesting the setting up of a foundation for women he argued that its expenditure could be met by diverting funds from unnecessary heads.

He appreciated the gesture of the Chief Minister to induct at least three ministers in his Cabinet from the Opposition. He said he had no hesitation in allowing Ghazanfar Gul, Mehmoodul Hasan Dar, and Shahnawaz

Cheema, to join the Cabinet provided they were given portfolios of police, finance and law.

At this stage the Finance Minister, Sardar Amjad Khan Dasti, interrupted the Opposition leader by inviting him to join the Treasury bench. "If you do so, I am ready to step down from my Ministry," the Minister told Rana Shaukat.

Lashing out at the inefficiency of the Health Department, Rana Shaukat painted a very painful picture of the health delivery system where, he said, patients in government hospitals faced shortage of proper food and medicines. The doctors, he said, were not satisfied with their working conditions, the paramedical staff complained of the Government's apathy, and, the flooding of the market with sub-standard medicines was responsible for endangering innumerable lives.

He proposed the launching of health insurance scheme to ensure proper healthcare.

Rana Shaukat, who spoke for more than an hour, expressed concern over the output of various development authorities, particularly in Faisalabad and Multan, by urging the Government to hand over these development institutions on contract.

He was also critical of an allocation of Rs 30 million to the Lahore Metropolitan Corporation which, he said, already had many sources of revenue.

He objected to allocations for the Forest Department accusing it of inefficiency. "There is no fun in distributing a few hundred thousand plants and saplings every year for tree plantation campaigns. Their real job was to ensure that these saplings grew into trees."

Another Opposition leader and Vice-President of PPP [Pakistan People's Party] Punjab, Mr Pervaiz Saleh, emphasised the need for "exposing the misdeeds of the martial law regime." He was of the opinion that the present economic crisis was a direct result of "institutionalisation of corruption" by the military rulers.

"The world's leading magazines have published reports of corruption of our military rulers," he recalled and urged the House to produce a white paper on it.

Drawing the attention of the House to the "vested interest" in the armed forces, he claimed that the elected leaders were being maligned in the eyes of the nation to justify imposition of martial law.

Calling upon the legislators to beware of the "common enemy," those who wanted military rule, Mr Pervaiz Saleh emphasised the creation of a congenial working relationship between the Punjab and the Centre.

"Let's fail designs for another martial law by burying petty differences," he concluded.

His passionate speech received prolonged thumping of the desks both by the Opposition and Treasury benches.

**Punjab Budget Presented Amidst Protest,
Disorder**

*46000140A Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
14 Jun 90 pp 15-16*

[Article by Ashraf Ibne Noor: "Punjab Budget Comes Amidst Pandemonium"]

[Text] The Punjab budget for 1990-91 was presented in the provincial Assembly on Saturday amidst the worst-ever pandemonium seen in the House in recent years. The entire proceedings were interrupted by the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] Opposition.

The finance minister, Mr Hameed Dasti, however, proved a very hard nut to crack, as also Deputy Speaker Sardar Hasan Akhtar Moakal, who was presiding over the session, and neither gave in to the PPP's legislators, one of whom set a new tradition of reciting the 'azaan' in the House. Also for the first time, full-throated slogans were raised in the House against the presiding officer and the Punjab chief minister.

Deficit

The budget is of the order of Rs 54,924.9 million, including Rs 9,000 million for the annual development programme which has now been renamed as Tameeri-Watan programme. It shows deficit of Rs 2,927.4 million, which the Punjab government says it will bring down to RS 1,927 million by increasing school and college fees, stamp duty, toll charges, motor vehicles tax, and savings through cuts in the irrigation, buildings, highways, education and health sectors. The additional levies and cuts will bring to the exchequer an amount of Rs 1,000 million.

According to the budget documents, the government expects Rs 25,664 million in general revenue receipts and Rs 694.6 million in general capital receipts. Public account receipts have been estimated at Rs 17,978.8 million. Non-development revenue expenditure is projected at Rs 29,021 million while non-development capital expenditures has been estimated at Rs 1,004 million. The estimate of public account disbursements is Rs 17,239.8 million. The net deficit has been estimated at Rs 2,927.4 million.

The budget contains a number of relief measures for the lower-income groups and government servants. All government servants have been given 10 percent interim relief and retired personnel will also get a similar increase in pensions. The minimum salary of workers has been fixed at Rs 1,100 per month. Two hospitals and 21 dispensaries have been promised.

Allocation for the Baitul Mal and the Jehez Fund have been increased by Rs 100 million each, while a trust will be set up for the disabled with an initial amount of Rs 100 million. One lakh plots of 7 marlas each and 10,000 plots of 3-marlas will be distributed among poor families. Primary education has been made free in government schools, and there will be a high-class educational

institution for intelligent but poor girls where they will get free education from the secondary to the graduation level. Admission to this institution will be strictly on the basis of merit.

Disorder

Disorder in the Assembly began at the very outset. It appeared that the PPP MPA [Member of Provincial Assembly]s were bent upon taking their revenge for the COP [Combined Opposition Parties] boycott of the budget speech in the National Assembly on 7 June. Syed Zakir Husain Shah and some others in the Opposition raised a point of order immediately after recitation from the Holy Quran. The speaker asked the Assembly secretary to first announce a panel of chairmen for the current session. But the Opposition members continued to insist that they should be heard first. The panel was announced, although nobody could hear the names because of the noise in the House.

Syed Zakir Husain Shah, on permission from the chair, then said the session was unconstitutional because it had been summoned by the Governor at 11 a.m. and not 3 p.m. and since no notification had been issued regarding the change of time, the session could not be held. In response, the Chair cited the Governor's notification whereby the session was to be held at 3 p.m., but the Opposition refused to accept it on the ground that no notification could be issued after the first one.

On insistence by the Deputy Speaker that the session was in accordance with constitutional provisions, PPP legislators Wasi Zafar and Khalid Latif Kardar stood up to say that the Finance Minister could not present the budget. The Minister, however, started reading his budget speech and the PPP MPAs started interrupting him.

IJI Forward Bloc

Interestingly, the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad]'s forward bloc, headed by Makhdoom Altaf Ahmed, did not join the PPP MPAs in the protest.

Some PPP legislators went up to the Speaker to ask him to stop the Finance Minister, but when he again refused to do so, some of them started making parallel speeches near the rostrum. It was then that the PPP's member from Sialkot, Khwaja Yousaf, hit upon his new method of protest: he started reciting the 'azaan,' although he was facing south and not west.

Although PPP legislators claim that the Leader of the Opposition had continued to stand for a full 70 minutes to seek permission from the Chair to speak and that the Speaker's refusal was one of the reasons for the protest, this is not completely true.

The Leader of the Opposition was not present in the House when the point of order was raised. He had come in much later, and even after his arrival, he did not seek

any permission to speak. It was other MPAs who told the Speaker that the Leader of the Opposition wanted to say something.

The Leader of the Opposition, Rana Shaukat Mehmud, insists that the Speaker's attitude was partisan and he had lost the Opposition's confidence. He demanded that the Deputy Speaker should resign.

PPP MPA Wasi Zafar has not challenged the legality of the Assembly session as well as of the budget presentation in the Lahore High Court. He has prayed that the session should be suspended till the disposal of his writ.

Articles Stresses Importance of Dialogue With MQM

46000146D Karachi DAWN in English 27 Jun 90 p 7

[Article by M.H. Askari: "Lessons of 'Operation Hyderabad'"]

[Text] Hyderabad has earned the dubious distinction of being something of a landmark in the confrontational politics of the ethnic divide in Sindh. And if the current uncertainty over the scope of powers which army believes it would need in order to effectively contribute to the Sindh Government's anti-terrorist campaign is not cleared up soon enough, this second largest city of the province may yet have to wait indefinitely to see any easing of tensions.

The threat of a popular agitation held out by late President Zia-ul-Haq's son, Ejazul Haq, while on a visit to Hyderabad the other day, with the intention to build up public opinion against the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] Government cannot in any sense contribute to restoring calm. He reportedly spoke of seeking "revenge" upon the ostensible perpetrators of the "excesses" in Pucca Qila and some other localities of Hyderabad. While he did not spell out of objectives of his 6-week long agitation, beginning 30 June, it is distressing to note that his rhetorics of toppling the established government—"if there is a repetition of what happened in Pucca Qila"—were an unsettling reminder of the intransigent attitude which the former PNA [Pakistan National Alliance] had adopted against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government in 1977. Instead of the proverbial healing touch that Hyderabad needs after the traumatic events of 26-27 May, any threat of public agitation can only lead to more trouble—and more misery for the common people.

Conflicting accounts of what actually happened in Hyderabad continue to surface, to the bewilderment of the average newspaper reader. Even after a month the sequence of events is not quite clear. There is also no definite information yet about the charter of the proposed judicial commission and when it would commence its function. In the meantime, the authorities continue to stand by their earliest version of the happenings, that is, a heavy police contingent under the command of the Inspector-General of Police, Sindh, was forced to mount a major operation to get to the

terrorists (and their arsenals of deadly weapons) who were supposed to be there in hiding in some localities of Hyderabad. This led to a number of casualties in the cross-fire between the law enforcement agencies and the 'terrorists.'

The people who were affected by the operation and who turned out in large numbers to 'greet' the chief of army staff when he visited Hyderabad shortly afterwards, of course, have a different story to tell. They maintain that the police used force ruthlessly, with punitive intent and with little concern even for the life of women and children. The estimate of people who lost their lives also vary enormously—ranging from a 'a mere handful,' according to police sources, to something like 50 to 70 according to un-official estimates.

Since the authorities intend to extend and intensify the 'Operation Clean-Up,' it is important to learn from the Hyderabad experience. Even by the official own account, a sizable segment of the city's population had apparently turned hostile to the police and other law enforcement agencies and had the intention to obstruct the anti-terrorist drive. They barricaded themselves in their homes and tenements. The law enforcement agencies came up against stiff resistance when the door-to-door search was begun. The information available to the police about the hideouts of the 'terrorists' and the location of their stocks of arms was also obviously far from being adequate; hence, they had very little to show for what they set out to achieve when they attempted to break the 'siege.'

There is reason to believe that the police did not coordinate its planned operation with army authorities. It is also not known whether the authorities attempted to seek collaboration of the local political leaders before launching their operation to flush out the 'terrorists.' As the population in Hyderabad city is overwhelmingly dominated by one particular ethnic group, known for its anti-PPP sentiment, it can be assumed that there had been virtually no communication between the authorities and the local leadership for some time. The authorities and the people had, it is clear, completely lost trust in one another and nursed their respective cocoons. When the crisis deepened they were seen to belong to two adversarial camps. Such a state of affairs could not have developed overnight and no effort appears to have been made to bridge the communication gap and establish some sort of a dialogue before the final crackdown by the police.

In Hyderabad today the ethnic divide manifests itself in almost every facet of social and economic activity, much more so there than in Karachi where the demographic polarisation is not so visible. The city which once prided itself on its multi cultural and multi-lingual character now stands divided between the two major ethnic groups—Sindhis and Mohajirs. At place where the population was somewhat mixed until the recent wave of

violence, there has been shift of whole families and clans, making the divide appear more starkly sharp.

Visitors who have been in Hyderabad in recent days have been struck by the thick cloud of ethnic hate and hostility which hangs over all forms of social contact and which nobody seems willing to dispel. What makes the situation particularly pathetic is the fact that Mohajirs who are in a clear majority have developed a siege mentality and firmly believe that the administration has turned against them. Their extreme bitterness after the incidents of 26-27 May stems not so much from their ethnic sentiments as from their strong sense of alienation from the administration.

It was for this reason that they welcomed the induction of the army which they regard as an entity quite distinct from the local or provincial administration. It is another matter that some self-seeking politicians sought to exploit the situation to glorify the memory of late General Zia-ul-Haq, putting out his large-size portraits and raising slogans of mard-e-Haq, Zia-ul-Haq. They did so in callous disregard of what Gen Zia-ul-Haq's martial law did to a large segment of the people of Sindh, particularly to those who were subjected to extreme excesses during the movement for restoration of democracy in 1983 and 1986.

The plight of the Mohajir population of Sindh has been further compounded by the near-total disappearance of the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] leadership from the scene. Most MQM leaders, either for fear of reprisal or as a matter of political strategy appear to have gone underground, leaving their adherents like a rabble without a sense of direction. Mr Altaf Hussain, in an interview to DAWN, explained the situation by asserting that the government had been conducting a 'Crush MQM' Campaign, arresting its leaders, Councillors and field workers.

There is nothing yet to suggest that the PPP Government is making any serious effort to open up dialogue with the MQM, although a dialogue is absolutely essential in order to create a sense of confidence among the Mohajirs of Hyderabad and Karachi. On the contrary, the latest statement by a spokesman of the PPP has suggested that no useful purpose would be served by opening up a dialogue with the present leadership of the MQM which he described as extremist. However, the Sindh chief minister, Aftab Shaban Mirani, talking to some newsmen on Sunday, said he was optimistic about the prospects of an early dialogue with the MQM and maintained that the provincial government was trying to tackle the law and order problem "through a process of political conciliation and understanding."

Nonetheless, the Sindh Government's decision to give a party-wise break up of the 90 'terrorists' who were detained in Karachi and Hyderabad between 15 May and 20 June cannot be expected to serve the cause of political conciliation, especially because the number of arrested persons belonging to the MQM was more than

twice the total number of persons belonging to three other parties, i.e. the PPP, Jiye Sindh Federation and Pakistan Students Federation. While the 'clean-up operation' which led to the flare-up in Hyderabad on 26-27 May was primarily aimed at recovery of illicitly held weapons, besides the arrest of 'terrorists,' the number of arms recovered by the law enforcement agencies was by no means impressive. The Sindh Chief Minister himself reportedly acknowledged that the police raids had led to the recovery of a very small quantity of illegal arms and the matter was serious enough to deserve a probe.

The delay in launching an intensive drive with the assistance of the army against terrorists, dacoits and "those who sheltered them" is not easy to understand. According to the chief minister, the drive will begin "very shortly" and cover the entire province. The crucial element in the proposed drive will inevitably be the role of the army which could well feel somewhat inhibited unless it was given a fairly free hand to deal with the situation. The chief minister has once again confirmed that the overall responsibility for 'clean-up operation' would continue to rest with the civil administration, for whose assistance the army units had been inducted.

Incidentally, some Western media have been asserting that Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto has "refused" to grant the army its demand for special judicial powers—"the full authority of arrest, trial and conviction." According to the media reports, the prime minister regarded grant of such sweeping powers something akin to imposition of "an undeclared martial law, undermining the civilian authority." If the reports are to be believed, the military has threatened to "withdraw" from maintaining law and order in Karachi and Hyderabad, as the government had not yet clarified under which constitutional provision had the troops been deployed.

Incidentally, it was the same report (carried by THE TIMES London, from its correspondent in Islamabad) which maintained that over 5,000 people had been arrested in Sindh in a province-wide crackdown and that the violence last month claimed something like 350 lives.

That the virus of ethnic hate has not infected each and every individual who is caught in today's crisis in Sindh was established by the experience of three senior (non-Sindhi) journalists who went to Hyderabad on the occasion of Mr Ejaz-ul-Haq's visit last week. The journalists whose ethnic identity was by no means ambiguous were stranded about a hundred kilometres from Karachi on their way back, well after dark, because of the breakdown of the car in which they were travelling. They were certain that in an area which was reputed to be infested with "Sindhi terrorists" they had to be prepared for the worst. However, to their great and pleasant surprise, it was a pickup carrying three Sindhi youngmen (inevitably armed with Kalashnikovs) which came to their succour, literally out of nowhere, and facilitate their journey back to Karachi without any untoward incident.

Relation Between Terrorism, Youth Unemployment Viewed

46000142C Lahore *VIEWPOINT in English*
28 Jun 90 pp 19-20

[Text] The controversy between the triarchy of Pakistan's centres of State power—the President, the Prime Minister and the Chief of the Army Staff—over the calling of the army in aid of civil power in Sindh still continues, and the much-talked-about crackdown has fallen a victim to the paralysis of indecision.

People are being arrested—the number had reached 2,358 last week—but most of them are booked for minor crimes. The terrorists and the dacoits are still at large and beyond the reach of the net.

On June 17, a spokesman of the armed forces announced in Islamabad that there was no difference of opinion between the civil administration and the army over the constitutional cover for the deployment of troops in Sindh.

Put Off Indefinitely

Earlier, a statement attributed to a senior army official in Karachi had said that "the operation in Sindh was postponed indefinitely". The Islamabad spokesman said: "The impression (of postponement) was not only factually incorrect but might be motivated to create confusion and prevent the law-enforcing agencies from pursuing the task."

On June 19, Sindh Chief Minister Aftab Shahban Mirani, on his return from Islamabad, announced that he had received the "green signal" from the Centre to launch a province-wide swoop on terrorists and dacoits "with the maximum use of army units." The Prime Minister's instructions had reportedly been facilitated by a clear-cut enunciation of the army's role in aid of civil administration and the positive results ensuing so far from the army units' effective presence in the troubled centres of Hyderabad and Karachi. The army's role was spelled out in the context of Article 147 of the Constitution which obliges the army to act under the supervision of the civil power and perform specific functions entrusted to it.

According to earlier reports, which still persist, the army had indicated its readiness to act under Article 245 which envisages giving wider powers, including those of trial by military courts, to the army. The political Government's reluctance to invoke Article 245 emanates from the fact that resort to this article involves suspension of fundamental rights and prohibiting citizens from approaching the Superior Courts under Article 199 which the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] rejects on principle and in view of its own long and hard struggle for the restoration of these rights.

The Opposition—including the MQM [Mujahir Qaumi Movement]—and the President have expressed their strong inclination in favour of invoking Article 245.

While the COP [Combined Opposition Parties], the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] and the MQM are on record as having demanded several times the handing over of the Province to the army and termination or suspension of the democratic process, the President conveyed, in an angry tone, through a presidential spokesman, that "it was wrong to assume that Article 147 of the Constitution had been invoked in consultation with or with the approval of the President. The President had nothing to do with any such decision."

Whatever may be the reasons for the President's opposition to invoking Article 147, the MQM makes no secret of the basis of its own preference for Article 245 and for the use of two law-enforcement agencies—the civil armed forces and the army. While the civil armed forces currently have a strong representation of Punjabis, a fair one of Sindhis and a nominal one of Mohajirs, the army has almost nil representation of Sindhis. It is exactly for this reason—and the suppressive role of the army in the 1983 MRD movement—that Sindhi public opinion is strongly opposed to invoking Article 245. Even Sindhi Opposition leaders have not demanded handing over the province to the army.

Conflicting Perceptions

In view of the two strongly conflicting perceptions of the two ethnic groups of the two law-enforcing agencies, the Government had decided to launch the clean-up operation through joint teams of army, police and Rangers, leaving open the opportunity to the aggrieved persons to approach the superior courts. But the controversy over which of the two Articles should be invoked and what role be assigned to the army has dragged on so long that it has given more than enough time to the wanted persons to plan destruction of all evidence (specially of torture cells), disposal of illegal arms to safe places and dispersal of terrorist gangs to safe havens. This planned dispersal makes it possible for the terrorists to regroup and strike back when the army is withdrawn.

The real problem of Sindh, observers feel, is not terrorism. In their opinion terrorism is just an offshoot. The real problem is the unemployment of youth, to which attention and resources that are required are not being devoted. The problem is likely to grow with the passage of time. Annual Development Programmes, which alone can be the catalyst for employment generation, are gradually shrinking. At the beginning of the 80s, about 40 percent of the total budget was being earmarked for the ADP [Annual Development Program]. At the end of the decade, it had shrunk to about 24 percent. Unproductive expenditure has proportionately increased. Such expenditure does not act as a catalyst for economic activity or employment generation. On the contrary, it acts as a depressant.

Since 1985, an irresponsible and dangerous attitude has developed among the rulers, specially in Sindh—coping with the unemployment problem by providing jobs to

individuals. Provision of jobs to favoured ones is considered an obligation by those in authority and a measure of policy. Instant accommodation to chosen job-seekers is generally offered in the existing departments and large-scale public utilities like the police, Railways, WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority], KESC [Karachi Electric Supply Corporation], PIA [Pakistan International Airlines], Pakistan Steel, banks, etc. This policy is politically immoral, economically damaging and self-defeating for the ruling party. Overstaffing makes these organisations sick and instead of providing a stimulus to economic activity becomes a drag and contributes to stagnation.

This policy has now been extended to the development programme. The 1990-91 ADP for Sindh includes over 3,300 projects, most of them on-going and only a few new ones. The total cost of these projects is about Rs. 41 billion and the allocation for execution is only Rs. 3 billion, most of which will be spent on the creation and maintenance of the administrative structure. In the name of the 3,300 schemes, thousands of people are, and will be, employed—but for administration and supervision, and very little is, and will be, spent on actual execution of the schemes.

A very apt example of this policy is the Sindh Arid Zone Development Authority (SAZDA) which has been in existence for more than five years now but has little development to show, although millions of rupees have been spent on administration. The Sindh Government envisages creation of 47,000 jobs during the coming fiscal year. If these jobs are created only for the sake of providing salaries (grants), the situation may improve for the individuals but not for the economy; rather, the economy will deteriorate. But if the jobs are created in productive sectors and they contribute to the national basket of goods and services, it will be a step in the direction of a solution.

Terrorism and the Economy

The problem of terrorism has now become linked with economic activity as the latter cannot pick up until law and order is established and safety is provided to investors and workers. The attack must come simultaneously with full vigour on two fronts—eradication of terrorism and encouragement of the productive use of resources to stimulate the economy and strict avoidance of waste.

Zafar Interviewed, Airs Views on Corruption, Shariat Bill

46000140C Lahore *VIEWPOINT* in English
14 Jun 90 pp 20-21

[Interview with Z.M. Zafar by *VIEWPOINT*'s Zafaryab Ahmed—First paragraph is introductory paragraph printed in bold print]

[Text] Mr. S.M. Zafar, law minister during Yahya Khan's martial law regime, and constitutional lawyer, is on the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad]'s constitutional

committee. *VIEWPOINT*'s Zafaryab Ahmed met him in his office on The Mall in Lahore when the Opposition was holding its Islamabad "convention" on alleged corruption in government; the lawyer sounded hopeful about the exercise but after the end of the convention, he seemed quite disappointed. He said: "Let him fling the first stone whose hands are clean," and this forms the burden of the following interview although Mr. S.M. Zafar also talks of other issues, including the Shariat Bill.

[Ahmed] How do you view the present political situation?

[Zafar] The overall political situation is overshadowed by corruption. Everything was going all right and to my mind even the tension and dissension in politics were a part of the process and we were settling down. They were ultimately in control. But the germ of corruption has damaged everything. Today, unfortunately, every institution is in its nasty claws.

I begin with the corruption in the national and provincial assemblies. Both the governments unfortunately have come down to depend on the purchased loyalty of their respective MNA [Member of National Assembly]s and MPA [Member of Provincial Assembly]s. They have got totally disconnected with the rest of the nation and are enmeshed in keeping themselves in power on the basis of horse-trading, and now it seems it's more than horse-trading: they are being blackmailed by their legislators. Having learnt their value, they have started raising their price. As a result the entire government is paralysed. The national and provincial governments are crumbling. To my mind any government about which even a suspicion grows that it is corrupt, it is a very dangerous sign. This dangerous sign is a signal of getting into the redder areas. A red alert seems to have come.

Because of my profession, I come in contact with many people of various shades of opinion. I want to convey it as my testimony, through *VIEWPOINT*, on the basis of information passed on to me, that bribes' commissions and black money are the rule of the day. Anyone who is investing today is investing from public money.

[Ahmed] When in your opinion was this tyranny of corruption unleashed? It didn't start overnight or with the advent of elected governments

[Zafar] I would say it started much earlier, but I was expecting that it will be controlled. I wanted to see cent percent control in what it inherited. I am not interested in going into the past. My view is that every government inherits a lot of disadvantages and I will, for the sake of my statement, assume—not that it is that I assume but it is a fact—that they inherited a lot of corruption because of the non-party politics. I believe that non-party-based elections laid the foundation of corruption. Now I am interested in its reversal and want to see the will to stop it.

[Ahmed] Do you think that the situation can be changed immediately?

[Zafar] Yes it is possible.

[Ahmed] If you were running the government with the present administration, how would have you done it?

[Zafar] I think it is much easier to go out of the government on an issue like this and return with a more composite majority. This is happening because of a split mandate. In such a situation, a see-saw game is much better to play. Go out of power, come back again with a better mandate.

[Ahmed] Will it be all that simple in the situation in which we live today?

[Zafar] No. The choice is between so much of corruption and what I have said in this respect. If the choice was between much less corruption and going out and coming in, it would have been a difficult scenario. But the choice is no longer difficult now. If this is how corruption is going to go on, if this is how MNAs are going to be on your shoulders, then, no. Why should you assume that government means only to remain in power?

[Ahmed] Are there any institutional checks to stop this corruption?

[Zafar] Institutional checks? Let me go over them. The first institutional check comprises the committees of the Assembly. With the kind of polarisation that exists and the horse-trading going on, it is reflected in the committees as well. Therefore, the action of the committees will be seen as mala-fide. The next institution is discussion in the Assembly. However, where this is concerned, I find that it has been converted into proving not that who is good but who is worse than the other. On the floor of the houses, charges and abuses are flung at each other. Instead of having a salutary effect of controlling, I find is making corruption the rule of the day. Everyone says that if everyone else is corrupt, then they see it as no crime. This forum of accountability too we have lost. The height is that a TV programme like Studio Two that aims at exposing corruption is watched as entertainment.

The next check is provided by the courts. While we talk of the courts, we will talk of the criminal side first. On the criminal side, the courts are beset with delays, with incompetent public prosecutors and a large number of unscrupulous lawyers going about who would rather take up points in a case than try to have justice done. I have a feeling that it has collapsed. At the magisterial level, it is difficult to find out who is honest. When I see drafts of appeal, they are full of mistakes, reeking of carelessness and inefficiency. On the writ side, a writ has been a very powerful instrument in the hands of the country. It is still today and will remain for some time to come. But there also delays have started taking place. The record of the high courts in the backdrop of disposing of writs shows a

marked slowness over the years. There was a time when writs were disposed of in a matter of days or a maximum of 3 months.

[Ahmed] What are the reasons for these delays?

[Zafar] Probably, one could be that the courts' legitimacy is challenged. Their will to act against the administration is checked by the PCO and martial laws. Most of their time is spent on debating their legitimacy. This has tempered their interest in giving prompt justice. But still, certainly, writ is a very strong instrument. But it can't detect corruption. It can only detect questions of abnormality or rules not being followed.

Then there is the Ombudsman. But his powers are limited and persuasive. Then, given my understanding of law, I think the Ombudsman is not the institution which can detect corruption. Then there are administrative institutions like the FIA [Federal Investigation Agency] and the CIA [Crime Investigation Agency], with immense powers to detect corruption. They can investigate anything under the sun. I think this is the time that our rulers should make up their mind to fight this malady.

[Ahmed] Aren't you ignoring the most important institution in a democracy, which is the Opposition which, if it behaves as an opposition, can be effective to check corruption? In our case, the Opposition, while criticising the activities of the party in power and instead helping it to streamline things, appears to be fighting an army of occupation or alien rule.

[Zafar] It is good that you have brought this up. I would have dealt with it myself. I think this is because of the split mandate. The Opposition at the Centre is in government in a province and the Opposition in the province is in government in the Centre. This in a way is a unique opportunity to learn to be governing and also to be in the opposition. Unfortunately, the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] and the People's Party, instead of getting the best out of it, have wasted a golden opportunity. Such problems in a split-mandate are inevitable.

[Ahmed] But one reads about corruption in the advanced democracies as well—funds and donations to U.S. Congressmen and Senators is common knowledge. I wonder if you know how people react there in the United States.

[Zafar] More than anyone else, American public opinion has played its role. The public started organising campaigns. The hold of the mafia was not broken by the police. It was the public who did it. The American people said, enough is enough, and they refused to pay money. Then the system of electing the police and judicial officers also helped. Then there is sanctity and respect for the constitution whereas we have abrogated our constitution thrice. But I must point out a redeeming factor in Pakistan is the free press. No matter what the circumstances may be, it has been allowed to express itself freely. Even General Zia allowed....

[Ahmed] The freedom of the press that one felt during Zia's time was compromised freedom. The General was running his ship on the foreign policy plank and he allowed papers and journalists to criticise his internal policies only as long as they supported his approach on external affairs. This was smart; it gave a semblance of democracy to his dictatorial rule....

[Zafar] A historical compulsion allowed a sort of freedom of the press. I am not saying it was a bona fide one, but that freedom has continued now; in fact, it has become better and is in a much more acute and clear form. So, people's mandate and freedom of the press—I think it will create an atmosphere. Corruption cannot be removed immediately or suddenly, but one can take a turn which can lead to better pastures and meadows. If you ask me what I will do today if given an opportunity to fight corruption, I will immediately go for reconciliation between the People's Party and the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad. This I say should be achieved in 3 months and beyond 3, it is all red-alert. In order to have this reconciliation, the two parties can say that those crossing the floor are not acceptable and should take some mutually agreed measures to stop it.

[Ahmed] What do you think of the state of our Constitution after all those eight amendments?

[Zafar] The Eighth Amendment I would say is a bit of a maligned amendment. The criticism against it is primarily that it was drawn up by an individual. When the Assembly endorsed it, though under the umbrella of martial law, it got a semi-semblance of being supported by the public. But a greater part of the Eighth Amendment, the worst part of the amendment, has by the process of history been washed away.

[Ahmed] What is that?

[Zafar] Number one, it provided for the President to also hold the office of COAs. With the death of Gen Zia, this clause has become redundant. It provided that Zia will remain there for 5 years, irrespective of anything. It provided that the president will be able to nominate the prime minister on 20 March 1990. This clause too has expired. It is no longer operative. It provided that the president can dissolve the Assembly. After the Supreme Court judgement, this power too has become almost void and is no longer available. Then the clause relating to non-party basis of the election of senators—half of the senators have been elected on a non-party basis will retire by 1991. So what I am saying is that a very large portion of the Eighth Amendment has become inoperative. We should settle down now. There is no point in going into its history. This may well serve a political purpose but wouldn't help to resolve the crisis. To me the Eighth Amendment is no longer a vitally important issue. In certain respects the Eighth Amendment is very good—for instance, the powers to be devolved gradually at a later date to the Senate. The question of powers of the president and prime minister can be resolved gradually at a later date.

[Ahmed] What do you think of the Shariat law that has been passed by the Senate and is going to come up for discussion in the National Assembly.

[Zafar] I think the Shariat Bill has not been properly debated in the Senate. The official party failed to perform its duty. I am sure it needs to be amended. I hope in the National Assembly it is debated properly and necessary amendments are proposed to change its obscurantist nature, and it is made to look progressive. I think the emphasis on Ijtihad is lacking in the present document. We have to realise that Pakistan has been created because of the efforts of people like Allama Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Pakistan should depend for its constitution not on Taqleed by Ijtihad.

Trade Policy 1990-91

46000146B Lahore *THE NATION (Supplement)*
in English 27 Jun 90 p 2

[Text] The new trade policy for fiscal year 1990-91, announced by the Federal Commerce Minister Faisal Saleh Hayat, is geared towards export promotion. This is reflected by the following policy measures: (a) 75 percent income from exports of services exempted from income tax. This is not likely to either increase imports or increase foreign exchange earnings because the emigrant working force is on the decline; (b) Leading insurance companies allowed to issue policies in foreign currency which may well legalise black money; (c) Exports of ice-cream, yoghurt and milk (up to 50 percent of domestic production) allowed; (d) Samples for exporters would now have a limit of 1000 rupees instead of 500 rupees. This limit should be further raised as samples determine sales in several cases; (e) Tax exemption from export earning of fruits and horticultural products raised from 50 to 75 percent and 75 percent tax exemption on earnings from jewelry, pharmaceuticals, sports goods, towels, durries. These industries are earmarked for expansion through incentives; (f) Pakistani companies can retain 5 percent of their export earnings abroad to set up concerns in the EEC—this is not sufficient for setting up sister concerns; (g) An export credit guarantee scheme is to be launched; a leather institute is to receive a federal grant; and a committee is to be formed to recommend incentives for export of engineering and electronic products. On the import side 90 items have been made free. And machinery under BMR, other than textile, can be imported up to 2 crore rupees.

The above commerce policy reflects three important policy thrusts. Firstly that the government is continuing to stress traditional exports of consumer durables. Setting [up] a committee which will recommend incentives for the export of engineering items seems to be very much in the future. In other words the country will continue to depend on agro-based exports to earn foreign exchange and consequently pray for favourable weather as an integral part of their export promotion scheme. Secondly, imports are likely to rise further which will have an adverse effect on our balance of payment

position. And the new BMR scheme reflects a continuing stress on a high capital-output ratio which is likely to further increase unemployment. Finally, the commerce policy was geared towards pacifying powerful pressure groups notably APTMA. These three elements of the trade policy imply that nothing has changed and no innovative or far-reaching measure adopted.

Article Examines Religion, Ethnicity, and State Power

46000141 Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
14, 21 Jun 90

[Article by Hassan N. Gardezi, of Algoma University College, has particular relevance at this time in view of the situation in Sindh]

[14 Jun 90 pp 22-25]

[Text] The last quarter of the 20th century has witnessed the rise of a plurality of movements, some representing emancipatory goals in the areas of human rights, status of women, peace, ecology, and so forth, while others aimed at reassertion of rights and privileges on the basis of religion, ethnicity and nationality, lost or displaced in the process of world-wide geo-political conflicts in the wake of colonialism and imperialism.

In the latter category fall the movements of religious fundamentalism which, in conjunction with wider ethnic conflicts and confrontations, have recently appeared on the international scene with remarkable poignancy and pervasiveness, particularly in the Middle East, South and Southeast Asia, Africa and more lately in some Soviet republics. One result of the relative "suddenness" and intensity of the appearance of these movements has been a frantic groping on the part of some Western models of general validity so that the march of history will not out pace their respective mental agilities to explain the turn of events.

However, before any "new" grandiose paradigms are built, one must go through the more pedestrian exercise of evaluating each case in the light of internal developments and the impact of external forces.

In this article the focus is on the political and economic changes which have laid the basis for the growth of Islamic fundamentalist groups, rise of religious fundamentalism and accompanying ethnic conflicts in Pakistan.

Theoretical Considerations

It should be noted at the outset that the world-wide rise of religious and ethnic-based movements and conflicts has provided yet another argument for the proponents of "post-Marxism" to dismiss class identities as of marginal importance in the experience of human beings and as mainsprings for social action. Marxists who are accused of "privileging" of a specific class, i.e., the working class, and neglecting the plurality of conflicts and struggles that take place on the basis of ethnicity,

nationality, gender, and ecology, are said to have missed the boat again. The "post-Marxists" maintain that historical materialism is an essentialist and reductionist class-biased "discourse" in which an attempt is made to submerge and "totalize" all other "discourses." Islamic fundamentalism could thus be regarded as just another discourse at par with dialectical materialism, with its own text, linguistic structure, symbols and "constitutive" reality.

History in the post-Marxist thinking is not a continuous process, underpinned by concepts such as mode of production and totalized by economic determination in the last instance, as Marxists have been professing. History must be reconstructed through an "archaeology" of "silent discourses" rendered absent by the presence of dominant discourses. If this Foucauldian approach to recount history is adopted, it will confirm the view that there is no such thing as a class, at any rate not in the present "post-modern," "post-industrial" society. What we discover in the "new" history of post-Marxists is not classes but "subject positions" or "human subjects" struggling for emancipation or control, as the case may be, as ethnics, greens, pacifists, Palestinians, Chinese students, Lithuanians and last, but not least, the authors of history themselves who take up the task of articulating the submerged and silenced "discourses."

There are not many examples of analyses of the emergent social movements and struggles in the Third World cast in post-Marxist perspectives. But an interesting example in the form of a Ph.D. dissertation can be cited which squarely situates the politics of religion in Pakistan in a series of discursive formations in Foucauldian terms as a basis for explaining "cycles" of social change. (Social Change and Politics of Religion in Pakistan by Syed Masoom Abidi, doctoral dissertation, University of Hawani, 1988). The work is interesting in its observation of the intellectual taboos of post-Marxism—avoidance of prioritizing the economic sphere, underlying the class identities of politico-religious agents and discarding the role of the State in promoting religious fundamentalism and ethnic conflict. The author's conclusion is also interesting in that it reaffirms his belief that what Pakistan needs for the emancipation of its people is not class struggle, but a "new" Islamic revolutionary discourse which is democratic egalitarian. To ask how such a discourse is possible without a fundamental change in the economic and political spheres is to invite the charge of essentialism and over-determination.

Yet the rise of Islamic fundamentalism—both as a discourse and as a force that has lent itself to generating ethnic conflict, oppression of women and diversion of demands for democracy and substantive social justice in Pakistan—cannot be understood out of the context of the material interests of its proponents and the class appeal of their ideological edifice. While it is true that people have identities other than class identities which can be strong motivating factors in human behaviour, it is only a partial truth. We cannot base our understanding of entire social movements and

struggles on the simple observation. There is a complex interaction between these identities, and they not only reveal but also conceal people's experience and motivations for action. Furthermore, whether that action will take religious, political or economic expression depends on the holistic context of society and culture as emphasized by anthropologists.

Fragmentary Conceptions

The Marxian thesis of the predominant influence of economic sphere does not amount to denying the influence of non-economic factors such as religion, ethnicity and nationality in shaping individual or social identities. As Maxime Rodinson states in *Islam and Capitalism*: "It seems to me that the profound design of Marxism is much rather to oppose fragmentary conceptions of man. Those resultants, group consciousness and individual consciousness, have as an essential component the situation in which the group or the individual is placed by the role assigned to it in social production and the redistribution of the fruits of this production. For these are together with the biological reproduction of mankind the essential, primordial tasks that are first of all imposed upon any or every society (emphasis in the original).

It is, or course, true that the economic sphere does not mechanically translate into classes and class identities. Even at the centres of the world capitalist system, where a tendency for social classes to polarize into two fundamental groups, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, is manifest and strong, other group identities and values based on nationality, ethnicity and religion have never entirely receded to the background. In countries of the capitalist periphery such as Pakistan, where the capitalist mode of production does not have tendency to become exclusive but is only dominant, polarization of classes is even less decisive and heterogeneity of social formations continues to persist.

A similar argument is made regarding the mode of domination and relations of domination involving the post-colonial State in countries such as Pakistan and Bangladesh. According to this argument the structure of the modern State and associated legal frameworks were superimposed on the existing social formations of the colonies by the ascendent bourgeoisie of the centre. In its transplanted situation the State was not merely to replicate those tasks established for it in the metropolitan countries; in addition it had to institute a vast apparatus of coercion to dominate the groups and social classes comprising the social formation of colonies. Thus, the political apparatuses of the State—civil service, police and army—were at the outset of independence over-developed.

However, the over-development of the post-colonial State and its inflated power structure operating in the context of a plurality of classes and social groups does not mean that the political sphere has become autonomous from the economic sphere and that classes as loci

for social movements and political struggles have lost their relevance and explanatory primacy. On the contrary, the all-too-frequent use of naked coercive force by the post-colonial State, its instability and its appeals to religious and other non-economic discourses for legitimisation are symptomatic of the fact that no single class has emerged dominant in the political sphere, and the State must therefore mediate between the competing and often contradictory interests of fragmented classes and social groups. Exploitation of religious and ethnic identities and State-sponsored religious fundamentalism, as in the case of Pakistan, can become important instruments in this process of mediation, but always within the constellation of specific class forces. It would therefore help to begin our substantive analysis by outlining the class structure of Pakistan.

The Dominant Classes

In the case of Pakistan, where a dependent or peripheral capitalist mode of production is grafted on to a modified feudalism, three dominant propertied classes have been identified. These are the landed aristocracy, the indigenous bourgeoisie, and the metropolitan bourgeoisie, none of which has managed to establish a decisive influence over State power. State power as a result has been wielded by a military-bureaucratic oligarchy for most part of the country's post-independence history. While mediating the mutually and at times conflicting interests of the three dominant classes, this oligarchy has also served to protect their specific privileges from potential and actual threats from the dominated classes.

At the time of independence, the landed aristocracy, as the zamindars, khans and sardars, being the only significant propertied class, nurtured by the colonial administration, inherited State power. By its very social origin and feudalistic mentality, this class was not able to lay the foundations of a modern, bourgeois democratic State. Its party, the Muslim League, unable and unwilling to respond to the popular socio-economic aspirations of the peasants and workers, proclaimed the defence of Pakistan's nationhood, rendered synonymous with defence of Islam, as its primary mission.

The second dominant class, the indigenous bourgeoisie, consisting of urban industrialists, traders and financiers, numbered a handful of entrepreneurs at the time of Pakistan's independence in 1947, but grew rapidly under the patronage of State bureaucracy particularly after 1958 when General Ayub Khan finally overthrew the civilian government. By social origin the members of this class belonged to minority ethnic groups and immigrants from India who settled in Pakistan after Partition. They were, therefore, not in a position to exert their political power through a party of their own making, although a few of them were active within the Muslim League from the beginning. This class did play a crucial role in integrating the country's economy with the world capitalist system.

The metropolitan bourgeoisie, the third dominant class, came into prominence during the Ayub era (1959-1969) when the basic blueprint for Pakistan's development was laid down by Harvard University experts. As a result of this dependent development, the country was driven deeper into the U.S. sphere of influence through a combination of military alliances, aid and foreign investment. Multinational corporations made strong inroads into the country's political economy under the strategy of import-substitution industrialization. The metropolitan bourgeoisie, although not entirely indigenous to Pakistan, has played a critical role in shaping the economic and political policies adopted by the Pakistani State, periodically leading the country into disastrous internal and external crises and confrontations. Although the right-wing religious party, the Jamaat-i-Islami has served its interests, the metropolitan bourgeoisie has primarily worked through the direct agency of the bureaucratic-military oligarchy. It has never been interested in the development of a bourgeois-democratic alternative for Pakistan, identifying its interests with "stable," authoritarian regimes, closely allied with its metropolitan State, the United States of America.

During the democratically elected government of Mr Z.A. Bhutto from 1971 to 1977, some industries and banks were nationalized and economic policy favoured the interests of the landed aristocracy. This led to a great disenchantment in the ranks of the indigenous and metropolitan bourgeoisie. There was a decline in investment and flight of capital from the country. However, with General Ziaul Haq's military coup in 1977, the old policies of dependent capital accumulation and repression of labour were restored, reinforcing the position of those classes.

The Dominated Classes

The policies of rapid industrialization and economic growth espoused by the Pakistani state have also contributed to the growth in numbers of urban wage and salary earners at the other end of the class spectrum. One can add to their numbers the rural wage earners who have been displaced from their full-time farming occupations since the advent of land reforms and the green revolution. Several political parties on the Left in Pakistan have over the years looked at this class for support and as the basis for generating a counter force against religious fundamentalism and ethnic chauvinism. There are many reasons why they have not succeeded, the least of which can be attributed to the weakness of the class identity to these workers relative to their religious and ethnic identities.

First of all, the Left in Pakistan makes the mistake of assuming that there is a homogenous working class, the classical proletariat, ready to be mobilized instantly either as an electoral constituency or a revolutionary vanguard behind an egalitarian socialist agenda. This view ignores the existential conditions of the dominated classes and the survival of pre-capitalist structures in Pakistan's peripheral capitalist mode of production

which is the principal sociological factor in fragmenting the unity of the working classes. Almost all of the farm wage workers in Pakistan, a substantial proportion of the industrial work force, the entire force of female and child workers rely heavily on their ties with their rural communities and domestic subsistence economies in both the rural and informal urban sectors. If the workers did not have to rely on such ties for survival, or precapitalist relations of production under which surplus value is extracted through extra-economic mechanisms did not exist, the primary contradiction would be between labour and capital. However, Pakistan's peripheral capitalist mode of production is characterised by strong survivals of feudal dependencies, patriarchy, debt bondage and forced labour. As a result the labour force is fragmented, the process of proletarianization remains incomplete, and class struggle is mitigated. A party that genuinely seeks to appeal to Pakistan's dominated classes will have to have a multifaceted agenda for liberation of the working classes from different forms of economic as well as extra-economic coercion. The half-a-dozen or so Leftist political parties claiming to represent the interests of the dominated classes, in addition to being vulnerable targets of State oppression, have lacked such a broad manifesto and predictably have had little success in mobilizing mass support behind their general anti-capitalism, anti-feudalism and anti-imperialism.

All this, however, does not mean that Pakistan's working classes have allowed their religious and ethnic identities to dominate their political interests and behaviour. This has been demonstrated by the two more or less fair general elections held in the history of independent Pakistan thus far. In the 1970 elections, the Muslim League and the fundamentalist Islamic party, the Jamaat-i-Islami, were totally routed in favour of Mr Bhutto's newly-organized Pakistan People's Party which ran on a populist social democratic programme promising roti, kapra and makan (bread, clothing and shelter) to the people. In the 1988 elections, after a long period of General Zia's military dictatorship during which ethnic and subnational conflicts had reached their peak, the majority of the electorate consisting of workers and peasants once again repudiated the parties that ran exclusively on the basis of religious and ethnic/subnational appeals. What, then, constitutes the basis for the widespread notion that religion and ethnicity are equally if not more dominant features of social formations such as Pakistan? To answer that question one has to examine the composition and role of the middle classes in particular vis-a-vis State power and its ideological legitimization.

In addition to the dominant and dominated classes, there has emerged in Pakistan's social formation a somewhat heterogeneous middle stratum with two main urban fractions which may be identified as the salariat and the bazaar bourgeoisie. The salariat owes its origin to the over-developed State bureaucracy characteristic of a number of post-colonial States. In Pakistan's case this salariat began to unify around its Muslim religious

identity before independence in pursuit of its economic interests, i.e., access to government jobs. Later it played an important role in the movement for the creation of Pakistan as a Muslim homeland in South Asia. The regional base of this salariat before partition of the subcontinent was in the Muslim minority provinces of North India where Western-style education of the middle class Muslim youth had taken a head start, and also under the leadership of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-98), a distinguished modernist thinker, a full-fledged university was established at Aligarh to impart higher education to the sons of Muslim aristocracy. After independence these educated middle and upper class Muslims migrated to Pakistan in large numbers to fill the ranks of the new State bureaucracy and to a lesser degree the army. At the same time the newly emergent salariat of Pakistan began to undergo a process of redefinition of identity from religious to ethnic, as competition for jobs intensified among educated Bengalis, Punjabis, Sindhis, Pathans, Baloch and Mohajirs. The last ethnic group is interesting in that it entirely consists of Urdu-speaking immigrants from North India and their descendants, compared to the other groups who have had their historical roots within the original five Provinces of Pakistan, with growing sub-national identities. Of these five provinces, Bengal seceded from the federation in 1971 amidst bitter accusations of economic and linguistic domination by West Pakistan, particularly by an alliance of Punjabis and Mohajirs dominant as entrepreneurs, bureaucrats and soldiers. The case of Mohajirs is also significant in that they are concentrated in Karachi, the industrial and commercial nerve centre of Pakistan, and other large cities of the Sindh province, consciously resisting assimilation with the rest of the population.

From the time of independence up to the 1960s they were well represented in the upper echelons of the salariat, its rank and file and in industry and commerce. They provided the bulk of following behind religio-political parties and strongly identified with the "Pakistan ideology," with Islam and the Urdu language as its sine qua non. They used this ideology to browbeat the other sub-national and ethnic minorities for expressing grievances against inequalities of development and access to opportunities, the result of Pakistan's uneven peripheral capitalist development.

Change in Thinking

However, by 1970's the Mohajirs became suddenly aware that their economic position was sliding badly and their advocacy of the Pakistan ideology, Islam and Urdu was not proving effective in arresting the decline of their material conditions. There were several reasons, all economic, that quickly transformed their Islamic, Pakistani-nationalist identity to ethnic Mohajir (immigrant) identity. As a result of the two long periods of military and semi-military rule (1959-1969) and (1977-1988) the Punjabi-dominated military established its ascendancy in the ruling oligarchy, with the bureaucracy reduced to the position of a junior partner. The Mohajirs as a result lost their edge in obtaining patronage jobs in government

and business as well as their control of private enterprises to the Punjabis. The expansion of post-secondary education in the country produced tough competition between the numerically much larger Punjabi ethnic group and the smaller and insular Mohajir group for civil service jobs. The Mohajirs also began to feel threatened by the Sindhi nationalist movement, rendered extremely militant by Gen Ziaul Haq's brutal use of force in suppressing Sindhi protests against federal military rule and exploitation of their resources by non-Sindhis. Today, as unemployment of the educated rises in general, the representation of different ethnic and sub-national groups in the salariat assumes increasing importance as a measure of equality and inequality, generating bitter conflicts and urban violence instigated by middle class interests.

The second main fraction of the middle class in Pakistan which represents its own set of economic and political interests is the bazaar bourgeoisie. This bourgeoisie, consisting of small and middle-sized entrepreneurs, also has its counterparts in other Middle Eastern countries where there is a large circulation of capital without a strong industrial base. A remarkable feature of Pakistan's uneven and distorted development in recent years has been an enormous increase in money supply and cash flow, without a concomitant growth in a solid self-sustaining base in industrial production. Neither is this growth in money supply a result of the export of a single primary commodity such as oil. In Pakistan's case the tremendous increase in money supply and availability of consumer goods since 1970s is due to a number of factors. These include home remittances from workers exported to the Gulf States and supply of military men and services to the Arab countries, stepped-up U.S. aid with the advent of Gen Zia's military regime, the bonanza of multilateral Western aid to the Afghan Mujahideen—holy warriors camped in Pakistan—and an enormous expansion of illicit trade in guns and drugs as a result of Pakistan's involvement in the Afghan civil war. With these expanded sources of money supply and circulation also increased the numbers and fortunes of a middle class of retail and wholesale merchants, import and export traders, contractors, rentiers, real estate agents, traders in contraband goods and smugglers. Together they constitute the bazaar bourgeoisie which despite its heterogeneous pursuits shares a common need to acquire social acceptability and a clean front. This need, combined with a certain amount of status insecurity characteristic of the nouveau riche, makes them the bastion of support for the politico-religious parties, the "Pakistan ideology" and Islamic fundamentalism.

[21 Jun 90 pp 22-25]

The direct political and ideological leadership of the politico-religious parties and movements of Islamic fundamentalism has rested in Pakistan as elsewhere with the ulema, the so-called learned experts in Islamic doctrine and law. Historically, their economic and political fortunes have waxed and waned with the rise and fall of Islamic empires.

Some of them, as exponents and interpreters of Islamic law, the Shariat, after the death of prophet Muhammad, achieved great eminence as founders of the four orthodox schools of fiqh or Islamic jurisprudence, subscribed to by the Sunni Muslims. Under the Muslim rule in India the ulema were attached to the courts of the Sultans and Mughal emperors, as was the case with courts of the medieval Caliphs of Damascus and Baghdad, in various official capacities as fuqaha, juris-consults, muftis or proclaimers of 'fatwa,' authoritative opinions on controversial socio-political issues, and qazis or magistrates. They also held positions as educators and teachers in the Persian and Arabic medium schools imparting classical learning.

After 1857

After the British conquest of India and the deposition of the last Mughal King in 1857, the ulema lost all these functions and associated economic and social privileges as the colonial rule westernized the administration of law and justice, education, industry and commerce.

While the displacement of Muslim rule by a colonial power affected the entire Muslim community in India, it was particularly shocking for the ulema. Shah Waliullah and his son, Shah Abd al-Aziz, two eminent ulema of Delhi, who were witness to the crumbling of the Mughal empire during its last decades, blamed this predicament on the corrupt Muslim rulers and their fellow-capitulant ulema who bent the laws to serve the convenience of their masters (not an uncommon occurrence in the history of Islamic States). For them the situation could only be saved through revivalism and reassertion of the Prophecy. Some ulema such as Sayyid Ahmad who died fighting the Sikhs in the northwest of India in 1983 declared jihad, holy war, against the British and the non-Muslim rulers, while others opted for cooperation with the colonial power.

In the 20th century, when the movement for independence from colonial rule gained momentum in India, the ulema once again emerged from their madressahs, seminaries, to preach their political and ideological discourses. However, this time none of their leaders favoured the creation of an Islamic State as an alternative to the British colonial rule. When in the 1940s, the Muslim League, the political party led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, a secular Muslim nationalist, began to press its demand for Pakistan, the ulema kicked up a veritable storm of opposition to the idea. Of the two main traditional schools of thought among them, the Deobandis were staunchly anti-colonialist because of the privileges they had lost. They urged the Muslims to make a common cause with the Hindus for the overthrow of British rule. They countered the demand of Muslim nationalists for the creation of Pakistan with the argument that believers in Islam constituted a universal community, ummah, which could not be contained within national boundaries. Their political party, the Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Hind, in 1919 started a mass movement, with the blessings of Mahatma Gandhi, for the

restoration of the Turkish Sultan's authority as Caliph of the Muslims. Shortly before independence a faction of this party broke away to establish itself in Pakistan under the name of Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam (JUI).

The second traditionalist group of ulema, the Barelvis, kept themselves aloof from anti-colonial politics, but after independence formed a political party under the name of Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Pakistan (JUP), along with the Deobandis, they believe in strict conformity to the four Islamic schools of orthodox fiqh or jurisprudence. However, since the masses of peasants in Pakistan practise the Islam of the Sufis, which is syncretic, with beliefs in miracles and powers of saints, the Barelvis have accommodated these beliefs in their theology in order to maintain their hold over the masses.

Apart from these traditionalists, another group of ulema rallied behind the Islamic fundamentalist, Maulana Maudoodi, who organized his own religio-political party named the Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) in 1941. Maudoodi, a classical scholar and prolific writer, bitterly opposed the creation of Pakistan and derided its leading proponents in the Muslim League as ignorant of the concept of Islamic State and law. After Partition, however, he migrated to Pakistan with the sole mission of converting the new nation into an "Islamic State." The first step towards that objective was the assumption of State power by the believers in true and authentic Islam, which practically disqualified everyone except himself and his followers in the party. Unlike the traditionalist ulema who believed in taqlid, total acceptance of earlier authority, Maudoodi's fundamentalists believed in ijtehad, independent judgement. However, the exercise of such judgement was to be the prerogative of only those qualified by virtue of knowledge, piety and expertise in the interpretation of Quranic texts. Sovereignty in the Islamic State belonged not to the people, but to God as revealed through the teachings of the Quran and the Prophet.

Fascistic Lines

These are, of course, hardly the principles on which a mass party could be organized on democratic lines. The JI was, therefore, organized on fascistic lines, demanding total discipline and obedience of the party members to its Amir, the supreme leader of the party. Its conception of the Islamic State is also that of one-man rule by the Commander of the Faithful with the aid of a military and an elite consultative assembly pious, and "true" Muslims. As a religio-political party, the JI is quite different from the other two parties of the ulema. It would like to see the Islamic Republic of Pakistan based on the Hanafi law which is one of the four orthodox Sunni schools of fiqh with the largest following, all other sects to be declared non-Muslim. By provoking bloody street agitations against the Ahmadiya community, the followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad who in 1889 declared himself to be the promised Mahdi or Messiah, the JI has already succeeded in having this sect declared non-Muslim.

Although the JI has entered every election with great fanfare in the history of Pakistan, controlled or free, it has always been thoroughly repudiated by the electorate. In the 1970 elections it did not win more than a seat or two in the National Assembly, whereas the JUI and the JUP won 7 each out of a total of 138. In the 1988 elections, the JUI won 8 seats in the National Assembly out of a total of 207. Both the JUP and JI ran under an alliance of Islamic parties called the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI), including the Muslim League and Right-wing elements who had benefited under the Zia dictatorship. Out of the 55 seats won by this alliance, only 1 known JI leader was elected.

The Road to Power

It should be clear from the above that the class basis of the religio-political parties led by the Pakistani ulema is too thin to put them at the helm of the State through free adult franchise. All of them have considerable sectarian following among the bazaar bourgeoisie. The JUP also maintains some populist appeal among the peasantry and landlords. The JUI and JI also have had considerable following among the urban salariat, particularly in the large cities of Sindh with concentrations of Mohajirs. However, since 1984 the Mohajirs of Sindh organized themselves into an exclusively ethnic political party under the name of the Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) to protect their economic interests which they feel are threatened by the upsurge of Sindhi sub-nationalism and Punjabi and Pathan encroachments in their spheres of the job market in the public and private sectors. As a result, the JI practically lost its entire following among this group. In the 1988 elections, the MQM captured 13 seats in the National Assembly, more than any politico-religious party, collecting 84.6 percent of the popular vote in Karachi, the largest city of Sindh and Pakistan.

What does all this mean for the Islamic identity of the people of Pakistan and the much-celebrated resurgence of Islam and Islamic fundamentalism in the country? It certainly does not mean that economic interests and class identification never were, or have ceased to be, of primary explanatory value in placing the religious and political behaviour of the people at large in its proper perspective.

Strategic Advantages

What it does mean is that in countries such as Pakistan with a peripheral mode of production, where groups and classes continue to exist whose position with respect to the relations of production is not unambiguous, their control over non-economic spheres such as religion and law can give them strategic advantages in the exercise of political power and the mode of State domination. The bazaar bourgeoisie, beefed up by the lopsided structure of production and circulation, sees its interests best served by the religio-political parties with traditionalist and/or fundamentalist Islamic ideologies. The other fraction of the middle class, the salariat, has

similar interests, but lately it has been turning into the promotion of ethnic and sub-national identifications as a means of protecting its internally competing interests. But none of the privileged and semi-privileged classes of Pakistan, fragmented as they are, have a consistently articulated and historically rooted ideology to legitimize their class interests or claim over the control of State apparatuses. The ulema, who do not constitute a class in relation to the means of production, profess to have both the ideology and a historical claim to control the legal and judicial apparatuses of the State, either directly or indirectly. But to be able to become a ruling class in their own right, as their counterparts in Iran succeeded in becoming, the Pakistani ulema will have to have a more viable and independent economic base, doctrinal unity and control over the army. In the absence of all this, the only road that the ulema see to power is by subjecting Pakistani society and State to the full rule of the Shariat. They cannot hope to see that happen by democratic means, for all the support they have among the middle classes cannot translate into enough votes.

As far as the masses of Muslim peasants and workers are concerned, they do show a special respect for the Shariat, broadly conceived as a religious code that encompasses one's entire personal conduct and networks of interpersonal relations, even though they do not necessarily know what it is. This is because the Shariat as a comprehensive Islamic law has never been enforced in its entirety even during the period of Islamic empires. It has thus remained a set of standards, well beyond what is actually practised in day-to-day, real life.

It is also one thing to show respect for the Shariat, which is a widespread sentiment in Pakistan but another to concretize the Shariat into legislation and back it with the coercive machinery of a 20th century State, the ultimate project of the ulema. Thus, the fatwa issued by some ulema, mostly belonging to the JUI, that the Shariat does not permit a woman to become head of State, makes little sense to the ordinary Muslims of Pakistan, otherwise they would not have elected Benazir Bhutto as prime minister. On the other hand, her symbolic gesture of covering her head after becoming prime minister no doubt satisfies the people's sentiment of respect for the Shariat according to which women are supposed to observe hijab, or modesty in public. This, of course, is far from the traditionalist and fundamentalist ulema's interpretation of hijab which means confining women inside veils and the walls of their homes.

This disparity between the actual lives and perceptions of the Muslim communities around the world, with their roots in different socio-cultural traditions, and the ulema's definitions of Islamic law, divided as they are in different schools of fiqh, makes their project of Islamization of the Muslim society and State particularly horrific. It can only confirm the Western view "that the Shariat flourishes under the shadow of the sword." Historically, this adage meant that the ulema were always dependent on State patronage to establish their positions as arbiters and interpreters of religious law,

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contrary to the way of the sufis or mystics of Islam whose syncretic teachings and latitudinarian interpretations of the Shariat had a direct influence over the minds and morality of the people. The more authoritarian and dictatorial a Caliph, a Sultan or a monarch happened to be, the more secure the ulema felt in their positions of juridico-legal authority and their worldly privileges. This, of course, forced many of them to capitulate to the self-serving demands of the rulers, which sufis did not have to put up with.

This recent experience of the people of Pakistan, not to speak of the people of Iran, with the "resurgence of Islam" gives new meanings to the old adage. While the religio-political parties had been agitating for the conversion of Pakistan into an Islamic State right from the time of independence, it was not until General Ziaul Haq's military coup of 1977 that they began to succeed in their demands. The general had deposed a popularly elected prime minister and had him executed through the manipulation of his rule. The religio-political parties were not only quick to offer him ideological legitimization in the name of Islam but a recipe to ensure the longevity of his one-man rule. This recipe was predictably the implementation of Shariat law before the restoration of democracy. The task was, of course, extremely onerous involving regulation of all aspects of social and economic life, from personal morality to trade and commerce, under the Shariat. It meant the dismantling of the entire legal structures under which the country's civil institutions had operated since colonial times. Nevertheless, the JI's Maulana Maoodoodi and his fundamentalists, who had been working on such a project with great zeal and generous support from vested interests at home and abroad since independence, eagerly offered their advice and blueprints to Zia's regime.

Selectiveness

However, what is interesting in the Zia regime's implementation of the Shariat is not the overall exercise, but the selectiveness with which certain Islamic laws were introduced. The aim was not the total Islamization of society, if such as at all possible without extricating Pakistan from its peripheral integration in the world capitalist system; it was rather to extend State control into the domain of the private and personal lives of the citizens as well as their public, political, professional and cultural activities. Once the Shariat is made State law, in name or in reality, there is virtually no limit on defining and enforcing what is appropriate conduct and thought for its citizens.

Thus, interventions in the moral and normative lives of the citizens received top priority under the Zia regime by extending the coercive power of the State through the introduction of an Islamic penal code, prescribing hudoood or Quranic penalties for a number of offences such as drinking, theft, fornication, adultery, perjury, etc. This opened the way for the return of spectacular "Islamic" punishments such as public flogging and hanging, amputation of hands and death by stoning. No

amputations of hands were carried out, most sentences to death by stoning were commuted with the exception of one or two cases where fanatics took the law into their own hands, a few public hangings were staged, but there was an orgy of public and not-so-public floggings of men and some women, under General Zia's Islamic regime, not only for stealing, petty corruptions of various kinds, drinking, real or imagined sexual offences, but also in a large number of cases for political dissent.

It should be noted too that the main brunt of the Hudoood Ordinance of 1979 has been borne by the weak and the underprivileged, the poor, the religious minorities and women in particular. In the case of women, the Ordinances have not only opened the door for their further sexual exploitation but reduced them into second-class citizens. In the case of rape, for example, the Hudoood law is so constituted that the victim invariably ends up being punished. This crime can only be proved on the evidence of four salch, pious, male Muslim witnesses. If a raped woman lays a charge against the offender and fails to produce such four witnesses as she is very likely to, she can be convicted and punished for adultery, zina, false allegation, Kazab or both. In 1981, a Hudoood Ordinance relating to qisas, retaliation, and diyat, compensation, was passed. It provides that evidence given by a woman in a court of law will carry half as much weight as that of a man. Under the Hudoood Ordinances, it will also be impossible to convict a burglar who enters the house of a non-Muslim and commits theft, rape or assault without being witnessed by two to four saleh Muslim males, very unlikely to be found on the premises.

Under Muslim Laws

These are only a few examples of the extension of State authority to regulate and punish certain moral, political and normative deviations under Muslim laws. A few changes were also introduced in order to extend the Shariat into the areas of taxation and finance, such as the compulsory payment of zakat, Islamic charity, and the so-called "interest-free banking," but these have no more than cosmetic value. Altogether the introduction of the Shariat had the greatest impact on the country's judicial and educational institutions. A new tier of Shariat courts was added to the existing court system presided over by qazis to adjudicate Hudoood infractions and to examine the existing laws to decide whether they were "repugnant to the injunctions of Islam." This opened up a whole new avenue of patronage appointments, and led to multiple standards of justice and demoralization of the existing legal profession. Shariat faculties were opened in all universities and law schools in addition to the creation of an Islamic Federal University staffed by the religio-political activists of the JI. At the same time, a movement was launched to "Islamise" every discipline from physics to chemistry to economics and psychology. The student wing of the JI, the Islamic Jamiat-i-Talaba, acquired the role of vigilantes to oversee such Islamization, terrorizing the faculty and fellow students, especially if the "erring" parties happened to be female. The

result was the stifling of freedom of inquiry and exodus of serious, self respecting teachers and researchers from the system of higher education.

Thus flourished the Shariat under the shadow of Gen Ziaul Haq's sword. The general died suddenly in the crash of his military aircraft on 17 August 1988, leaving behind a legacy of bitter religious and ethnic conflicts for the elected but fragile government of Benazir Bhutto to deal with.

The departure of Gen Zia from the scene and the intensification of the ethnic consciousness among the Mohajirs, the traditional followers of the JI's ultra Islamist-nationalist politics, has prompted some to write off Islamic fundamentalism as a force at the level of the State. However, this is a premature judgement because it does not take into account the entire constellation of class forces on which religious fundamentalism and the mode of exercise of State power in Pakistan has historically rested. The Mohajir party, MQM, after its electoral showing in the larger cities of Sindh in 1988 signed a pact with Ms Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) to support its government. But hardly a year later, when MQM leaders expected the PPP Government at the Centre to fall under the onslaught of the IJI, they returned to the "Islamic fold." The MQM voted for the no-confidence motion against Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in November 1989, with the IJI, dominated by Right-wing Punjabi chauvinists and Islamic fundamentalists of the JI. What more can be said about religious and ethnic identities being independent of economic and class interests?

The rise of Islamic fundamentalism and ethnic conflict in Pakistan cannot be explained in the framework of new theoretical fads which have a tendency to abstract social movements and ideological contestations from their historical and class contexts. Nor is there any evidence that religious and ethnic identities have emerged as autonomous forces previously ignored or suppressed by class-biased discourses. What we find in Pakistan is a class structure that is fragmented at all levels due to the uneven development of forces of production under peripheral capitalism. Thus, no single class has emerged with a dominant ideology and hegemony over the State apparatuses.

The Islamic ideology articulated by the ulema is rooted in Pakistan's precapitalist and pre-colonial past. The rising middle classes in Pakistan have provided support for this ideology as a means of protecting their material interests. The post-colonial State in Pakistan has sponsored this ideology in conjunction with the promotion of ethnic and sub-national conflict in its mode of domination. The concretization of this ideology into rule by Shariat has been instrumental in the State-sponsored oppression of the weak segments of the society, the poor, women and religious and ethnic minorities.

Conference Urges Unity Among Pakhtuns, Expansion of Language

46000142A Lahore *VIEWPOINT* in English 21 Jun 90 p 19

[Article by Afzal Bokhari: "Pakhtun Rights"]

[Text] Held with little advance publicity, the World Pakhtun Society's first conference last week proved successful in bringing local intellectuals belonging to various schools of thought on one platform.

The convener of the newly-formed Society, Dr. Mohammad Nawaz Bangash, called upon the Pakhtuns to sink their petty differences and forge unity among their ranks. Senior poet Abdul Ghani Khan said that the task of uniting the Pushto-speaking community was easy because the proportion of educated men and women in it was greater now than in the past.

Pointing towards the director of the Pushto Dictionary Project, Qalandar Momand, and the Director of the Pushto Academy, Nawaz Tair, he requested them to widen the Pushto language by including words from other regional languages.

The conference, attended by the workers of the ANP [Awami National Party], QIP [Qaumi Inqilabi Party], PSF, the Pakhtun Students Federation and the United Labour Federation, also listened to extracts of revolutionary poetry by Abdul Ghani Khan and Rahmat Shah Sail.

Regardless of whether it would really help in promoting the language, a representative crowd of Pushto-speaking people took out a procession last week to demand more programmes in their language on television.

The processionists marched towards the local television station where QIP leader Latif Afridi handed over a memorandum to the television authorities.

Addressing the processionists, Mr. Afridi said that the weekly time allotted to Pushto programmes on television came to a mere three hours and 12 minutes while the other regional language, Hindko, got one hour and 20 minutes. On the other hand, the time allotted to Urdu and English stood respectively at 35 and 14 hours. Mr. Afridi said that 20 million of the country's population comprised Pakhtuns but Peshawar television was showing step-motherly treatment to this section of viewers.

Public Data Telecommunication Network Inaugurated

90WT0117A Karachi *DAWN* in English 9 Jul 90 p 8

[Text] Karachi, July 8—A new telecommunication service which meets data communication needs of various commercial, industrial, educational and other organisations, was formally inaugurated by Makhdoom Amin Fahim, Federal Communications Minister here on Sunday.

Speaking on the occasion, the Minister said that the new service called Packet Switched Public Data Network (PSPDN) would supplement telecommunication facilities in the country.

He said the new services to be introduced through this network include data/text communications, public teletex, public message handling, public facsimile, teletext, electronic banking, credit card verifications and information services.

Makhdoom Amin Fahim disclosed that three packet switching centres had been set up at Rawalpindi, Karachi and Lahore with capacities of about 100 ports of 9600 bits per second each. Other cities like Peshawar, Gujranwala, Sialkot, Faisalabad, Multan, Bahawalpur, Hyderabad, Sukkur and Quetta would be connected to main centres, he added.

A network control centre based on a prime computer located at Rawalpindi controls and monitors performance, detects faults and maintains accounts for billing.

The Minister said tariff for this service was under approval of the government and at present some users like Computer Training Centre of Science and Technology Ministry were working on a test basis on the network.

Organisations likely to use this service include banks, airlines, industry, universities and research institutes, trading houses, government organisations, embassies, hotels, etc.

He pointed out that the country needed a massive effort to expand present network meet its growing demands. This was a gigantic task and needed multipronged approach to attain desired objective.

Similarly he added, efforts were also afoot to provide additional telephone connections in public sectors as well as associating private sector in the field.

Earlier, Director General, Telegraph and Telephone, Khan Ajmal Khan, said the new service was part of modernisation of the telecommunications system in the country. He said Pakistan was among those countries which provided this sophisticated technology.

The welcome address was presented by S.U.A. Naqvi, General Manager Computer while Project Director, Moin Sadiq Malik, explained salient features of the new service. Later, the Minister was shown practical demonstration of the new system. The ceremony was also attended by Sindh Labour Minister, Khawaja Mohammad and senior officials of the Communications Ministry.—PPI.

Editorial on Economic Cooperation With Iran, Turkey

46000144B Karachi DAWN in English 21 Jun 90 p 7

Editorial: "Prospects for ECO"]

[Text] Once again, economic co-operation between Pakistan, Iran and Turkey is receiving attention. Sahibzada Yaqub told the inaugural session of the Economic Cooperation Organisation [ECO] in Islamabad on Monday there was "vast potential for cooperation" among the member-nations, so the need was to move "forward with foresight and imagination." There is a consensus now that ECO be "upgraded" and the aims of the Treaty of Izmir, which Sahibzada Yaqub called "a landmark," be realised. Like the now defunct Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD), ECO already has an impressive organisational structure. In addition to the ministerial council comprising the three Foreign Ministers, a council of deputies and a planning council, ECO has set up since its foundation in 1985 a secretariat in Tehran, besides four technical committees and several groups and sub-groups. Yet the only achievement so far has been a decision in principle to set up an ECO investment and development bank and to have a preferential tariff arrangement. A list of items to be included in the tariff agreement has been drawn up but a final accord is still awaited. There are suggestions also for closer cooperation in several fields, including civil aviation and reinsurance. But if the fate of most RCD projects is any pointer, one would keep one's fingers crossed.

Situated strategically and endowed with plentiful natural and manpower resources, Pakistan, Iran and Turkey constitute an unbroken land mass stretching from South Asia to Europe. Its 200 million people have a great deal in common—linguistic traditions, religion, culture and ethnic links—and they do share what the Pakistan Foreign Minister called "a common vision of our three nations." Yet practical obstacles in the way of closer cooperation are a reality that cannot be wished away. There are vast variations in their domestic socio-economic circumstances, as there are disparities in the levels of their industrial and infrastructural development. Some of these are attributable to factors of history and traditions. But for all these dissimilarities, the three countries share a common aspiration for a quicker pace and a more meaningful pattern of development. In this all the three are hamstrung by their dependence on foreign technical and financial assistance. For that reason their major trading partners are America, Western Europe and Japan. Which explains why their economic infrastructure is underdeveloped, and despite territorial contiguity, road and rail communications are unsuited to large-scale trans-regional trade and tourist traffic. The much-trumpeted RCD Highway is not yet ready for trucking in a big way, nor is there an unbroken rail link between Karachi and Istanbul. If there were, Pakistani and Turkish ports would have served as alternative ports for Iran whose harbour installations and facilities were damaged or destroyed during the war with Iraq and which are still in the process of being rebuilt and repaired.

Nevertheless, these obstacles should be taken up as a challenge and spur us on to action rather than induce a feeling of despair. Factors that hold out the promise of

stepped-up economic and cultural cooperation are many. All three have a substantial reservoir of highly trained and skilled personnel; Iran, despite its current difficulties, is an oil-rich country with a potential for generating surplus petrodollars for investment, while both Turkey and Pakistan, especially the former, have experience of setting up and running a wide variety of light and heavy industrial projects and engineering industries. Pakistan also has developed an expertise in building dams and canals and in hydro-electricity, while it is among the few Third World countries which have a modest though vital nuclear programme for peaceful purposes. Thus, despite the absence of a strong element of complementary in their economies and many handicaps, the three countries can still pool their natural, manpower and financial resources to ensure a faster pace of national and regional growth. There are political compulsions also for a strong regional grouping. While the European Community is well on its way to closer integration by 1992, other regional organisations, too, are coming into being in the Middle-East and South Asia, besides ASEAN [Association of South East Asian Nations], which is already a remarkable success.

With Turkey refused full EC membership, and SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] being what it is, there is a danger that the three ECO members may find themselves left behind by similar other groupings. On the contrary, a thriving and vibrant "northern tier" could attract other regional States, especially those of the Middle East, and help improve their bargaining position in a world now characterised by supra-national economic groupings. If their economies are developed and their natural and manpower resources are exploited to the full, Iran, Pakistan and Turkey, instead of being economic liabilities for aid-giving groups, could turn into a dynamic regional force capable of being involved in a fruitful and mutually beneficial relationship with other large regional groupings. Only sustained interest in ECO's progress and possibilities by the political leadership in the three countries could take them in that direction.

**Commentary Terms Urdu Media, Shariat Bill
'Antidemocratic'**

46000142B Lahore *VIEWPOINT* in English
21 Jun 90 p 21

[Commentary by Husain Naqi: "The Trio Is at It Again"]

[Text] The Urdu media trio is at it again—Messrs Altaf Qureshi of URDU DIGEST, Maulvi Salahuddin of TAKBEER and, last but not least, Mujibur Rahman Shami of the new ZINDAGI, whose capacity for mischief has known no bounds since they discovered vice in the Bhuttos and almost prophet-like virtues in General Ziaul Haq. With their pens dipped in pure poison and their purses bulging thanks to the plunder of their former and present patrons, they are out to hunt with the hounds.

Common Refrain

In their latest issues, the common refrain is martial law. To Mujibur's ZINDAGI, "no prescription is better than martial law" and in Altaf Husain's eyes "people have once again started looking with hope (sic) towards martial law".

Besides, the three, with Salahuddin's TAKBEER in the lead, have played up the recent killings in Sindh and unashamedly attempted to cover up the fascistic brutalities perpetrated on the ethnic Sindhis. They have attempted to blackmail the Chief of the Army Staff and the army in their bid to deny the elected democratic Government of its constitutional right to call in the military in aid of civil power.

What else does the word "subversion" mean? Lest this be misinterpreted, one isn't suggesting any action against these frustrated psychopaths. No—and not because such acts of subversion have always been condoned, but to let the anti-democratic pen-pushers like them and their senile doyen, Mr. Z. A. Sulteri, vomit out all the muck stuffed in their breast. Any interference with their printed mischief will deprive posterity of knowing what their role was and about their readiness to act against all professional principles and ethics. Through their writings and publications, it is becoming more and more explicit as to who are the committed black sheep in the profession of journalism.

While they succeeded in collaborating with the anti-democratic forces that were instrumental in breaking up Pakistan in 1971 and in the coup d'état of the usurper General Ziaul Haq in 1977, their attempts this time are bound to fail. So, let them continue with their disinformation and cover-ups, as well as their frustrations through their failure to subvert the loyalty of the Pakistan Army. Try they may, but the cost is too well known to everyone with any grey matter left. And the 11 years of Zia and his coterie's misrule seem to have been of sufficient educative value for the Pakistan Army and its top brass also.

So, it is little wonder that it is not MNA [Member of National Assembly] Hakim Ali Zardari alone who has joined issue with those trying to blackmail the democratic Government and the political leadership vis-a-vis charges of corruption, misuse of powers and public funds. The properties here and abroad, the cuts gobbled up by General Zia and his coterie, the multi-million mansions in all the posh habitats in all the country's metropolises, the factories and other assets bought with bags full of cash and the mafia connections are too well known to permit the adventurers to be left alone. It is only too clear that usurpation of power this time will result in civil war and multi-directional foreign intervention.

Stupid Talk

The stupid talk of martial law is, therefore, bound to subside and finally go away. The Government as well as

the democratic forces should remain vigilant, but continue to demonstrate patience with all sorts of elements who are out to conspire and try to demolish what remains of Pakistan.

Isn't the fate of the so-called movement decided upon at the Islamabad Shariat Conference, participated in by all the remnants of Zia and some other disgruntled trouble-shooters, sealed because its protagonists included such gentlemen as Messrs Jatoi and Nawaz Sharif? If these people feel that the times when mullahs could send even Imam Abu Hanifa to the dungeon and justify his lashing can be revived, then they are sadly mistaken. These mediaeval practices can no more be permitted by the people and by the world at large. This time, they will also remain deprived of the patronage, financial and otherwise, of those who fanned the fires in 1977. The changes during the past few months and few weeks are perhaps beyond the comprehension of those who have planned the movement. Democratic secular forces are there to resist such trends, and we also have our awakened women-folk, the members of the Bar and all enlightened citizens and their supporters and well-wishers.

The boasts and the declarations made by Mian Nawaz Sharif on the occasion were more evidence of his incapacity to comprehend the very basics of the art and science of politics. If there is one province where this so-called movement has the least chance of response, it is the province where he sits at the head of the administration. For one thing, the women of the Punjab are more politically aware and, two, the people of the province have repeatedly rejected the mullah's right to influence their political views.

Sectarian Trouble

In the Punjab, the Bill can only provoke trouble which will have a definite sectarian slant. At the political level, it will provide one more opportunity to the Opposition to mobilise public opinion against the remnants of Zia's misrule. Furthermore, it will help to activate the massive majority of our women behind Benazir Bhutto's Government. As for Balochistan, it will further destabilise the already shaky Government of Sardar Akbar Bugti who has been helping the Punjab's rulers. In the Frontier, the move could be a blessing in disguise in exposing before the common masses the obscurantism of the mullahs. There, too, it may help to ensure women's active participation in the political struggle in a province where, except for a few, women have kept out of an active role in social and political activities.

It appears that the anti-democracy lobby has been left with no platform except to employ the mullahs—already used by Ziaul Haq to the maximum and now isolated and alienated.

Commentary Views Formation of New Political Party

46000139C Lahore *VIEWPOINT in English*
14 Jun 90 p 8

[Text] Pakistan's political firmament never seems to remain static: the clouds change their hues, form variegated patterns, new stars appear and some fade away without a twinkle.

A new political party has emerged recently in the Punjab, with something of a splash if not a bang. Led by Prof. Allama Tahirul Qadri, it calls itself the Pakistan Awami Tehrik [PAT] and has used its substantial sources to obtain some support in different parts of the country. Yet another politico-religious party, PAT seeks to carve a place for itself in opposition to both the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad]. It has already held a number of well-planned demonstrations in Lahore and other places on popular or populist issues, demanding high media attention as its right. It claims to have generated sufficient opposition in some places for numerous assassination attempts to be made on the life of its leader. The last one was staged through random firing at the Professor's Lahore residence in the small hours of the morning.

PAT's Lone Path

Prior to this dramatic or dramatised development, PAT had entered into an alliance with the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal (which seems ever-ready to join hands with any group capable of helping expand its base) as well as the Tehrik-i-Nafiz-i-Fiqh Jaffaria; but, this strange alliance notwithstanding, PAT seems likely to follow its own path. Following the last murder attempt, the Professor accused the Punjab Government of neglecting the case because, in the Allama's view, IJI leaders were behind the firing. In response to loud protests, a one-man inquiry tribunal, comprising Mr. Justice Fazal Karim, has been set up to investigate the matter and hearings have begun. As yet no clear picture has emerged of what exactly happened on the fateful night of April 21, nor what motivations prompted the would-be assassins to shoot at the Allama's room. However, other interesting information has been placed before the tribunal on the Allama's financial background, which explains the source of the resources with which the party was apparently launched.

According to admissions made in the court by Professor Qadri, he was allotted 167 kanals of land at the concessional rate of Rs. 8,000 per kanal by the Punjab Chief Minister. Later, he was taken to the United States for medical treatment by Shahbaz Sharif, and all expenses were borne by his generous host. The Allama had also been provided with a well-furnished office and a motor-car by the Ittefaq Academy. Nawaz Sharif's father had also given him a loan of Rs. 10 laks in 1983-84, and he was given a cement agency. Then, as is customary with the Punjab Chief Minister when he wants to favour someone, two Naib Tchisdars were appointed apparently because they were relatives of Professor Qadri.

And, although he lived in a rented house not long ago, the Allama was able to purchase a house for Rs. 5.5 laks for which funds were made available on loan by his friends and admirers. It was also admitted that Professor Qadri had worked for the Ittefaq Academy for many years, and so on and so forth.

One hopes that, by the end of the investigation, not only will the murder attempt mystery be solved, but explanations will be given for the Ittefaq family's largesse, as well as how and why the Professor fell out with his benefactors. The truth may be bitter, but the whole truth should be revealed so that people know what helps to make Pakistan such a political cesspool.

Commentary Sees Room for Improvement in People's Television Programming

46000144A Lahore *VIEWPOINT* in English
28 Jun 90 p 39

[Text] The so-called People's Television [PTV] has started transmission on a trial basis. Its area is limited, and at present it can be seen only within the limits of the twin cities of Islamabad and Rawalpindi. The station remains under the guidance of Mr. Rashid Lateef, Special Secretary for Information, and it is being run by the Shalimar Recording Company.

PTV's most important programme is the national news bulletin at 9 p.m. This is repeated by People's Television without any addition or alteration. If this is merely an interim arrangement, then it is another matter, but if the PTV bulletin is to be repeated by the new channel on a regular basis, then it will hardly do anything to improve the credibility of the media or the Government Ordinary viewers are already fed up with the over-projection of Government dignitaries and the coverage of activities which are not newsworthy.

Violation of Ethics

The other programmes being shown by the People's Television network include all the successful dramas produced by PTV. According to PTV union representatives, the free telecast of these programmes is a violation of basic ethics and it amounts to threatening the existence of PTV. The Minister of State for Information, Mr. Ahmad Saeed Awan, during Question Hour in the National Assembly the other day, said that an hour-long drama costs about Rs.1.5 lakh to produce. A part of the cost is funded by income from advertisement; mostly drama programmes are sponsored by business houses. It is strange that these business and industrial barons refuse to sponsor serious programmes about the Quaid, Allama Iqbal, the Pakistan Movement, the War of 1857, of Independence or other historical, cultural political and social aspects of our national life.

Anyhow their sponsorship of TV plays certainly makes some contribution towards improving television's standard. People's Television is reportedly also showing some plays which were recorded by PTV but were not

telecast for one reason or another. Or maybe they were on the air in the Bhutto, Yahya or Ayub periods.

Commentary Criticizes 'Ideology of Pakistan' Concept

46000146C Lahore *THE NATION* (Supplement)
in English 27 Jun 90 p 2

[Essay of the week by Muzaffar Ali Syed]

[Text] Come to think of it, no country of the world talks about having an ideology of its own, except of course the God-gifted mamlekat of Pakistan. (Mamlekat or mamlakah in Arabic means a kingdom which we are not, nor ever wanted to be, except for a while towards the end of Ayub era). As for being a gift from God, everything that we manage to get may be gratefully acknowledged as such, the country being no exception. But, why on earth, do we keep on talking about possessing something which no other country confesses to have?

There was a "Marxist ideology," you would kindly remind me, and a rival ideology of capitalism. Yes, the terms were used some time ago, particularly during the period of history known as the Cold War and this kind of name-calling was part of it. While they were busy stigmatising each other under these labels, we thought they looked rather neat and we took a slightly different one to stick on ourselves. That is all there is by way of labelling since prior to the mid-fifties nobody had heard of poor Pakistan possessing an ideology of all things.

Have you even heard or read of an American professor expounding an American ideology? Or a Soviet Marxist giving his state-philosophy the name of ideology? They used to call it Historical Materialism or even scientific socialism, while their detractors dubbed it as ideology. So, it was something like a group of fixed ideas or a set of narrow-minded prejudices which your rivals stuck to, while you had something much better: pragmatic considerations, flexible responses, multiple options and of course infinite wisdom.

The word has a longer history in Europe and yet there is nothing like a Western ideology, Christian or non-Christian. There is something which they call Protestant Ethics which according to Max Weber has a lot to do with the growth and development of secular democracy which again is not an ideology. It was Napoleon who denounced his democratic opponents as a group of people "fanatical in their ideology." Similarly, Karl Marx wrote a book on "German Ideology" using the work as a term of condemnation. Many more derogatory uses of the word are recorded in the glossaries and dictionaries of philosophical and political terms that we can recount here. Enough to say that hardly any person, group or nation seems to be as proud as we are of having an ideology of our own. Even the common language dictionaries define it as a "body of ideas reflecting the social needs and aspirations of an individual, group, class or culture."

This list obviously excludes countries and nations as holders of such a "typical" set of ideas as can amount to an ideology. So, there is no question of a national ideology or the ideology of Pakistan unless you equate the country with a social or political group which you do not admire. Pakistan, like any other country, consists of people who may be assigned a national character, temperament, ethos or behaviour by an observer but so far no outsider has credited or discredited us with an ideology. You could, of course, turn round and ask, "what about culture? Couldn't we have a cultural ideology?" Yes, by all means if you like but culture could be multi-national and a nation could be multi-cultural. And even if you can spell out some components of a national culture, you will find that you are still left with some cultural minority or another. And if you try to integrate all such cultural communities into a single unified whole, you will certainly need force. [sentence as received] That is what is called "fascism" which is sometimes confused with ideology.

Yet, there can be one serious objection to what has been said above. It is that the phrase "ideology of Pakistan" may or may not convey anything to an outsider but a Pakistani national is used to hearing it quite often and their could be something in it which he understands. Possibly yes, although it's rather difficult to establish what is understood by a word used in some different sense from what is common in the language it belongs to. Also, it's quite likely that the users of this word do not use it in the sense it is understood, that is, it's a political word which is always more high-sounding than meaningful. Taking it as a phrase of Pakistan English, modelled on the Urdu construction Nazriyya-i-Pakistan or Pakistan ki nazriyyati bonyaden (the "ideological" foundations of Pakistan), one may call it roughly equivalent to the historical forces inherent in the making of Pakistan which motivated the Muslims of British India to carve out a separate homeland for themselves. For this, we shall have to go to the original "ideologues" of Pakistan rather than to the latter-day proponents of the concept who nearby came to monopolise its use. In fact, the most frequent users of this phrase have been General Sher Ali Khan who served as Yahya Khan's information minister, some leaders of the religious-political parties and finally General Ziaul Haq. All these had one thing in common and that is none of them had participated in the struggle for Pakistan. They were all beneficiaries of the movement that created the new country and like all beneficiaries liked to interpret its motivation the way it would benefit them most. To the question "why was Pakistan made?" Their answer was: "For the implementation of the ideology of Pakistan." And this ideology, in their view, was nothing but Islam which again was nothing but a kind of law which they liked to enforce. Now, could anything be farther from the original purposes and social motives operative in the popular movement for the making of Pakistan? Among the publicly authorised "ideologues" of Pakistan, one may count Sir Syed Ahmed, Viqar-ul-Mulk, Iqbal Bahyadur Yar Jang and Mohammad Ali Jinnah. It is to them and their

colleagues that we have to turn for an authentic view of what constituted the idea, or if you like the ideology of Pakistan. Basically, two points can be clearly seen at work: the right of self-determination for the Muslims of British India and a will to lead their lives in accordance with the "principles of democracy, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam." Here the word Islam is obviously used in a much broader sense than the later, unauthorised proponents of "ideology" would admit.

This stand confirmed in the Objectives Resolution which was adopted by the first National Assembly and retained in all the later Constitutions of Pakistan as a preamble. It was, however, distorted through amendments which do not have any public mandate behind them. For instance, the words added to Article 2 of the last Constitution which was unanimously adopted by "the chosen representatives of the people" through whom the state was to "exercise its powers and authority" as stipulated in the Objectives Resolution, are extraneous and contrary to the spirit of democracy, equality and tolerance. Nothing was to be thrust on the people, even in the name of Islam, through martial law ordinances or by the arbitrary legislature of a House elected on partyless basis with no authority invested in them to amend the Constitution so drastically.

One of these interpolations was the introduction of the word "ideology," first in the name of the Islamic Advisory Council, which was reconstituted as the Council of Islamic Ideology and then in the new list of qualifications and disqualifications drawn up for members of the Parliament. One of the qualifications states that a member had not, after the establishment of Pakistan, worked against the integrity of the country of Pakistan or opposed the ideology of Pakistan. "This raises a number of questions like: Is this a qualification? How can anybody work against the integrity of a country before it is established? And does the word "OR" used before 'opposed the ideology' try to reword what precedes it or does it amount to another "qualification"? The confusion is further confounded in the list of disqualifications which include "propagating any opinion, or acting in any manner prejudicial to the ideology of Pakistan or the sovereignty, integrity or security of Pakistan, or morality, or the maintenance of public order, or the integrity or independence of judiciary..." This also does not clarify whether ideology is the same thing as sovereignty, integrity and security of Pakistan or something over and above all that. It's also strange that only members of the Parliament should adhere to the ideology while none of the non-elected officials like members of the judiciary or the armed forces are required to take any oath on it.

The president and prime minister as well as governors, chief ministers, speakers, deputy speakers, etc. have to swear that they will "strive to preserve the Islamic ideology which is the basis for the creation of Pakistan." Preserving is a mysterious requirement and nowhere in the Constitution as amended, do we get to know how

does Islam differ from Islamic ideology nor what constitutes the ideology of Pakistan more than its sovereignty, integrity and security. It also appears that there are two ideologies, one of Pakistan and the other of Islam, the latter also serving somehow as basis to imply that the

authorised ideologues of Pakistan did not know the amendment-makers did not want to tell us what it means. Apparently, when the 1973 Constitution is restored to its original shape, all these ambiguities shall disappear. Meanwhile, may Allah preserve us all!

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